

NEGATION IN KOREAN: A FUNCTIONAL AND DISCOURSE APPROACH

By

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This Dissertation is dedicated to  
my teacher, Dr. Chauncey C. Chu

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## TABLE OF CONTENTS

	<u>page</u>
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS.....	iii
KEY TO ABBREVIATIONS.....	viii
ABSTRACT.....	ix
 CHAPTERS	
1 INTRODUCTION.....	1
1.1 A Functional and Discourse Approach to the Analysis of Linguistic Phenomena.....	1
1.2 Basic Assumptions and Scope of Investigation.....	2 ✓
1.3 Outline.....	8 ✓
2 LITERATURE REVIEW ON NEGATION.....	10 ✓
2.1 Literature on Negation in General.....	10
2.1.1 Within the Framework of Transformational- Generative Grammar.....	10
2.1.2 Within the Framework of Interpretive Semantics.....	16
2.1.3 Within the Framework of Generative Semantics.....	18
2.1.4 Within the Framework of Functional/Discourse Approach.....	20
2.2 Literature on Korean Negation.....	24
2.2.1 Two forms of Negation in Korean.....	25
2.2.2 Single-base Hypothesis for the Two Forms of Negation.....	26
2.2.3 Double-base Hypothesis for the Two Forms of Negation.....	30
2.2.4 Descriptive vs. Metalinguistic Negation.....	32
2.2.5 Least Effort Principle.....	34
2.3 Necessity for a New Approach.....	36

3 NEGATIVE FORMS IN KOREAN.....	39
3.1 Introduction.....	39
3.2 Nature of the Short and Long Forms of Negation.....	41
3.2.1 Distribution of NEG-Forms in Korean.....	41
3.2.2 A New Typological Analysis of the Two Forms Negation: Lexical vs. Syntactic.....	53
3.3 Two Forms of Negation in Discourse.....	57
3.3.1 Surveys on the Choice of NEG-Forms: the Semantic/Pragmatic Distinctions.....	58
3.3.2 NEG-Forms in Neutral and Contrastive Environments.....	67
3.3.2.1 Choice of NEG-forms.....	67
3.3.2.2 Why the short NEG in a "contrastive environment"?.....	71
3.3.3 Grammatical Judgment of Negation: the Inadequacy of Structural Constraint.....	75
3.4 NEG-Morphemes in Korean.....	79
3.4.1 NEG-morpheme <u>an</u> .....	79
3.4.2 NEG-morpheme <u>mot</u> .....	80
3.4.3 NEG-morpheme <u>ma(l)</u> .....	82
3.4.4 Tense-Aspect-Modality and the Interpretation of NEG-morphemes <u>an</u> and <u>mot</u> .....	83
3.4.5 Transitivity and the NEG-morphemes <u>an</u> and <u>mot</u> .....	92
3.4.5.1 Transitivity and the distribution of <u>an</u> and <u>mot</u> .....	94
3.4.5.2 Transitivity and the semantic interpretation of <u>an</u> and <u>mot</u> .....	101
4 THE INTERPRETATION OF NEGATION IN DISCOURSE AND INFORMATION STRUCTURE.....	106
4.1 Introduction.....	106
4.2 Resolution of the Scope Ambiguity of NEG-Forms in Discourse.....	108
4.2.1 The Role of the Background Information /Knowledge in Discourse.....	110
4.2.2 The Role of Discourse Information from the Context.....	113
4.3 Information Structure and the Scope of Negation.....	115
4.3.1 New Interpretation of Information Structure.....	116
4.3.2 Information Structure and the Topic Marker <u>nun</u> .....	119
4.3.3 Information Management and Target of Negation....	127

5 SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION.....	137
BIBLIOGRAPHY.....	142
BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH.....	151

## KEY TO ABBREVIATIONS

CMP:	Complementizer
CONJ:	Conjunction
DCL:	Declarative particle
DM:	Dative marker
DV:	Descriptive verb
FUT:	Future tense
HON:	Honorific particle
IMP:	Imperative particle
INT:	Interrogative particle
NEG:	Negative
NOM:	Nominative particle
NM:	Nominalizer
OM:	Object marker
POSS:	Possessive particle
PRS:	Present tense
PST:	Past tense
SM:	Subject marker
SUBJ:	Subject
TAM:	Tense, aspect and modality
TOP:	Topic marker
V:	Verb
VOC:	Vocative



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This study aims at providing a better explanation for negation in Korean on the basis of the theory that there is a strong correlation between a linguistic structure and its discourse functions. Traditionally, Korean negation has been analyzed from the structural point of view of Western languages and its analysis has been concentrated on its formal/syntactic features. Thus, the pragmatic aspects of NEG-forms have so far been neglected.

Being both subject-prominent and topic-prominent, Korean has a drastically different structural tendency from that of any Western language. Its negation is heavily anchored in the relationship between form and function. To provide a full interpretation, this study takes a functional and discourse approach to the structural forms of Korean negation.

First of all, this study reviews the traditional approaches to negation in English and Korean, and then presents the rationale for a new approach, pointing out

difficulties which the traditional approaches have faced with in their analyses. The two forms of negation in Korean, short and long, are analyzed as the universal types of negation: lexical vs. syntactic. From this perspective, the various functions of the negative forms, which have not been dealt with in the literature, receive a reasonable explanation. Their distributional pattern is confirmed by survey statistics.

For the distribution of the NEG-morphemes an and mot, a transitivity theory is adopted. As an unmarked NEG-morpheme, an is used to negate predicates of either high or low transitivity; on the other hand, as a marked NEG-morpheme, mot is specialized to negate predicates of high transitivity.

The scope ambiguity of NEG-forms in an affected environment is seen as discursal in nature and has to be resolved in discourse. Under a two-tier information structure of 'source' and 'management,' the scope of negation is identified as the constituent that carries high informative value, regardless of its information status (e.g., given or new). This approach provides an explanation of the reason why the topic marker nun in non-subject positions plays an important role in the identification of the 'target' of negation in Korean.

In short, the distribution/choice and the interpretation of NEG-forms cannot be explained only in terms of syntactic structure, but must be viewed in terms of their functions in discourse. Thus, this study strongly supports a currently growing belief in linguistics that there is a strong correlation between a linguistic form and its function, though such correlation cannot always be formulated into absolute rules and must vary with their discourse contexts.

## CHAPTER 1 INTRODUCTION

### 1.1 A Functional and Discourse Approach to the Analysis of Linguistic Phenomena

Functional work has recently made great strides in many areas of linguistic research (Givon, 1983, 1984, 1988, 1990; Brown and Yule, 1983; Fox, 1987; Thompson, 1988; Halliday, 1985; Huck and Na, 1990; Kuno, 1987; Zribi-Hertz, 1989; Lambrecht, 1994). This approach is based on descriptive work and thus is radically different from that which is based on formal aspects of language. Researchers of this approach, who are known as functionalists, develop their work on the hypothesis that linguistic structure is not arbitrary but is to a considerable degree influenced by the communicative purposes of the language user.<sup>1</sup> They claim that linguistic expressions may be influenced not only by the semantic and syntactic functions borne by the arguments of the various predicates but also by the pragmatic functions associated with constituents in a sentence/discourse. They also claim that linguistic expressions may be more accurately captured in terms of tendencies rather than absolute rules. Under this new discourse and functional approach to analysis of language, it is now generally

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<sup>1</sup> Separation of structure from function is, according to Givon (1988: 94), one of the sources from which developed the notion that language is arbitrary rather than iconic. The other sources are separation of (a) speech from an idealized data base, (b) diachrony from synchrony, (c) language from human cognition.

accepted that regularities and generalizations about language are to be found not just in the rules of its grammar, but also in the ways it is used. The regularities found in linguistic expressions are different in nature from those of formal grammar in that they are not solely based on linguistic structures, but also on pragmatic elements such as topic, focus, and information structure.<sup>2</sup>

### 1.2 Basic Assumptions and Scope of Investigation

One linguistic structure, the understanding of which depends very much on its pragmatic function, is negation. The negation study has been a major concern not only for linguists but also for philosophers and logicians (Aristotle, Russell, Jespersen, Searle, Lasnik, Chomsky, Horn). Over the past couple of decades, there has been a number of important studies on this topic, and they have contributed a lot to the understanding of relations between the various forms of negation and their functions. Despite the findings, there are still a number of issues that are controversial concerning the scope of negation, the underlying representations for negative forms, the relationships between the forms and their functions, and the discourse functions of negation. This is so because most of the research conducted on negation has so far

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<sup>2</sup> Information consists of two categories: (a) new information and (b) given information. Wallace Chafe (1976) provides the following definition: Given (old) information is that knowledge which the speaker assumes to be in the consciousness of the addressee at the time of the utterance. New information is what the speaker assumes he is introducing into the addressee's consciousness by what he says. But see chapter 4 for our revised view of information structure.

been based on the analysis of its formal/syntactic features. Its aim has been to try to find absolute rules for the forms disregarding their functions and the relationship thereof.<sup>3</sup>

Negation in Korean has traditionally been analyzed largely in terms of transformational-generative grammar (Cho, 1975; Im, 1973; Kim, 1975; Lee, 1970; Yang, 1976; Kwon, 1993; Hahn, 1987; Song, 1966, 1971, 1975, 1988). There are two drawbacks to this approach: (1) structural linguistics (including the most recent Chomskyan GB theory) is mostly based on Western languages, which are dissimilar to Korean in structure and function, and (2) it does not take into account the pragmatic aspects of language, that is, its function in discourse. On the one hand, Korean, being both a subject-prominent and a topic-prominent language, has a drastically different structural tendency from that of any Western language.<sup>4</sup> For example, pronouns play a crucial role in referent tracking and topic identification in English. Yet, since the pronominal system is not as elaborate in Korean as in English, topic continuity in

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<sup>3</sup> Lambrecht (1994: 337) states that “the existence of unmarked information-structure categories, especially of unmarked focus structure, has led to the widespread belief among generative linguists that in the majority of cases there is no correlation between sentence structure and discourse function.”

<sup>4</sup> Li and Thompson (1976) proposes a classification of languages into four groups:

- a. Subject-prominent (English, German, etc.): subject-predicate structure
- b. Topic-prominent (Chinese, Lahy): topic-comment structure
- c. Both subject-prominent and topic-prominent (Japanese, Korean)
- d. Neither subject-prominent nor topic-prominent (Tagalog, Illocano)

Korean is very often expressed by a noun referring to a preceding noun with the help of the topic marker nun. And this topic marker nun plays an important role in topic identification in Korean.

1-a. English: Once upon a time, there was a man . He liked to go fishing---.

1-b. Korean: yenale han-sarami isessta.  
old time a man was

ku-saram-(n)nun naksi-lul coahayssta.  
the man-TOP go-fishing liked

‘Once upon a time, there was a man. He liked to go fishing---.’

Other times, neither the topic marker nun nor the subject itself is present in a Korean sentence and, as a result, it is difficult to identify a topic from a purely structural point of view. Therefore, topic identification in Korean must sometimes be determined by discourse context.

The structure of Korean negation is quite different from that of any Western language. For example, it is well known that Korean has two forms of negation, the short and the long forms. The two forms of negation have been considered NEG-forms unique to Korean in linguistic literature. That is, for an affirmative sentence like the one in 2-a, two forms of negation are possible in Korean: (a) the short NEG as in 2-b and (b) the long NEG as in 2-c:

2-a. Pi-ka o-n-ta.  
rain-SM come-PRS-DCL  
‘It rains.’

2-b. Pi-ka an-o-n-ta.  
rain-SM NEG-come-PRS-DCL  
‘It does not rain.’

2-c. Pi-ka      o-ci      an-nun-ta.  
 rain-SM come-NM NEG-PRS-DCL  
 'It is not the case that it rains.'

Many linguists have tried to pinpoint the distinctions between the two forms of negation in terms of their underlying representations, distributions, semantic and pragmatic differences, and scope interpretations. However, their findings have not been adequate or even consistent because their analyses have been done exclusively within the framework of formal syntax. Little attention has been paid to the discourse functions of the two forms of negation. Not only do they differ from each other syntactically and semantically, but they also serve different functions in discourse. The pragmatic aspects of the negations have so far been neglected by analysts of the structuralist orientation because their interest rarely goes beyond the confinement of an isolated sentence. To complement the previous research, this study adopts a functional and discourse approach. Furthermore, the analysis in this study is not based on the introspective judgment of acceptability or grammaticality of any hypothetical (invented) occurrence of linguistic items, but rather on the occurrences in actual usage. In this study, the above short NEG and long NEG are distinguished as lexical vs. syntactic negation, respectively. From the perspective of this new distinction, the various functions of negation which have been neglected are examined in conjunction with information structure in discourse context.

Another main issue this study investigates is the semantic interpretation of the NEG-morphemes an 'don't' and mot 'can't' in Korean. The interpretations of NEG-

morphemes an and mot are not only interwoven with the TAM (Tense-Aspect-Modality) markings, but they also involve discourse context. This study shows that in addition to the typical interpretation of ‘don’t’ for an and ‘can’t’ for mot, an has an additional meaning of ‘NEG-willingness’ and mot has additional meanings of ‘NEG-completeness,’ ‘NEG-epistemic status of being good/well,’ and ‘NEG-possibility.’ In this study, a transitivity theory (Hopper & Thompson, 1980) is adopted to interpret those typical and additional meanings of an and mot above. It shows that all of the various meanings of an and mot can be regarded as derived from the degree of transitivity each of the NEG-morphemes is associated with. As an unmarked NEG-morpheme, an is used to negate predicates of clauses of either high or low transitivity, but as a marked NEG-morpheme, mot is specialized to negate predicates of clauses of high transitivity only. The transitivity theory also offers a good insight into a better understanding of the distribution of the two NEG-morphemes.

Another important issue this study investigates is that of the scope of negation. As negation interacts with presupposition,<sup>5</sup> topic, and information structure, it must be interpreted in a way unique to its structure. For example, in the interpretation of the

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<sup>5</sup> The term ‘presupposition’ originates in the philosophy of logic, where it is used to denote a special type of implicit information. It is reserved for a proposition which must be true for the sentence in question to have a truth value, that is to say, for the sentence to be true or false. A presupposition is the only type of information that is unaffected by denying the original sentence.



target of negation, phonological prominence plays an important role in English.<sup>6</sup> In Korean, the topic marker nun plays such a role.

- 3-a. English: Jim didn't break the WINDOW.  
 (=Jim broke something, but not the window.)  
 3-b. Korean: John-i chang- (n)un an-kkayessta.  
 John window-TOP NEG-broke  
 'John broke something, but not the window.'

Since a topic is generally supposed to be given/presupposed, it is usually out of the scope of negation. A serious problem will arise if a topic is negated and, in fact, becomes the target of negation, as in 3-b. In this study, we offer a new principle that the target of negation is identified with a constituent that is highly informative in discourse. Data from English, Japanese and Korean support this principle. Our solution to problems like the one in 3-b is that, despite the given information it carries, the topic in 3-b is used to inform and the most informative constituent becomes the target of negation.<sup>7</sup> This study thus further shows that the topic marker nun in non-subject positions serves the same function as contrastive stress in English and the contrastive marker wa in Japanese, in that they are all devices for marking high information content in a constituent.

Regularities underlying Korean negation as well as negation in other languages can be discovered either in the ways native speakers use languages or in the various

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<sup>6</sup> Target of negation refers to the constituent negation covers in a sentence, that is, the exact constituent negation intends to negate.

<sup>7</sup> In the analysis of information management in Korean, this study adopts Chu's claim (1995) that information has to be treated from the perspective of a two-tier structure of 'source' and 'management.'

functions NEG-forms serve in discourse. It is for this reason that we have made every attempt to investigate the relationship between the NEG-forms and their functions in discourse through the analysis of actual usage of NEG-forms. Most of the crucial data in this study were gathered by administering questionnaires to native speakers of Korean.

The investigation of Korean negation in this study covers seven areas:

1. Analysis of the two forms of negation in terms of a new functional typology: (a) short form as lexical negation and (b) long form as syntactic negation
2. Investigation of pragmatic and semantic differences between the two forms of negation in discourse
3. Examination of the distribution/choice of NEG-forms in discourse
4. Grammaticality/acceptability judgment of NEG-forms at the sentence/discourse level
5. Analysis of the distribution/interpretation of the NEG-morphemes an and mot in terms of a transitivity theory
6. Interpretation of the scope of negation in discourse context
7. New perspective of information structure and the role of the topic marker nun in identifying the target of negation

### 1.3 Outline

The first part of the second chapter reviews the traditional approaches to negation in general with particular reference to English. The approaches reviewed are transformational-generative syntax, interpretive semantics, generative semantics, and

functional/discourse grammar. The second part concentrates on the literature review of Korean negation. After pointing out difficulties which traditional approaches have faced with in their analyses, the necessity for a new approach is discussed.

The third chapter discusses negation in terms of its functions in a discourse context. First, the nature of the short and long forms of negation in Korean is examined. Specifically, the distribution of the two forms of negation, their interpretations, and their pragmatic functions are examined in discourse context. The choice between the two NEG forms in particular is discussed in terms of a newly set-up functional categorization of lexical and syntactic negation. Then, this chapter shows that the grammaticality or acceptability of a NEG-form in Korean can be better explained in terms of a theory of focus rather than in terms of purely syntactic structure. The chapter ends with the claim the distribution and interpretations of the NEG-morphemes an and mot are explained in terms of a transitivity theory.

The fourth chapter discusses the scope of negation in discourse and the target of negation in conjunction with information structure. It is shown that both forms of negation are ambiguous and that the scope ambiguity of NEG-forms should be resolved in discourse context. Taking advantage of the new perspective of a two-tier structure of 'source' and 'management,' the chapter proposes a principle that the target of negation is identified by the constituent which is highly informative in discourse. The new principle finds support in data from English, Japanese and Korean.

The fifth chapter is a summary and conclusion of this study.

## CHAPTER 2 LITERATURE REVIEW ON NEGATION

### 2.1 Literature on Negation in General

There have been a number of works done on the topic of negation in linguistics in the last few decades. Since most works in this area have concentrated on negation in English (Klima, 1964; Lasnik, 1969; Carden 1973; Partee, 1970; Jackendoff, 1971; Ross, 1978; Taglicht, 1984; McGloin 1986; Givon, 1984, 1990), a brief review of some of their works on English negation is given in what follows. This review includes approaches such as transformational-generative syntax, interpretive and generative semantics, and functional grammar and discourse analysis.

#### 2.1.1 Within the Framework of Transformational-Generative Grammar

Klima's paper (1964), "Negation in English," is one of the first serious analyses ever attempted to account for negation in English within the framework of early transformational-generative grammar. He tries to account for the distribution of morphemes in sentences classed as 'negative' by syntactic criteria. He explains the different negative surface structures by positing a NEG constituent outside of the sentence in the underlying structure. In his analysis, different surface negative structures are derived by applying transformational rules such as Indef-incorporation,

NEG-placement, NEG-incorporation, and Do-support, to the corresponding underlying structures. Consider the following sentences.

- 1-a. Nowhere do we see such things.
- 1-b. In no other countries do you see such things
- 1-c. Not in any other countries do you see such things.

The three sentences above have basically the same underlying structure as 1-d below, except that sentence 1-a has a different lexical item (e.g., somewhere) in its underlying structure for the same expression (e.g., in some countries) in sentences 1-b and 1-c.

- 1-d. NEG-in some countries (somewhere)-we-Tense-see-such-things.

Sentence 1-a is derived from 1-d by applying the following rules in the order listed below:

- a. Adverb preposing (front 'somewhere' to the sentence initial position.)
- b. Indef-incorporation (change 'somewhere' into 'anywhere'.)
- c. NEG-placement (place Tense in front of the subject 'we'.)
- d. Do-support (insert the verb 'do' in front of Tense.)
- e. NEG-incorporation (NEG is incorporated into 'somewhere, thus changing it to 'nowhere'.)

Likewise, sentences 1-b and 1-c are derived from 1-d by applying the same rules as above except for NEG-incorporation not applying to sentence 1-c. One of the difficulties in Klima's approach, however, lies in the interpretations of the scope of negation. Since Klima was working in an early transformational framework in which semantics was not an issue, little attention was paid to the issue that transformations should preserve meaning. Consider the following sentences 2-a and 2-b.

- 2-a. Many of the arrows didn't hit the target.
- 2-b. Not many of the arrows hit the target.

According to Klima, the two sentences above are derived from the same underlying structure. However, sentences 2-a and 2-b are not synonymous. In 2-a, many is outside of the scope of negation (internal negation), while in 2-b many is inside the scope of negation (external negation). In Klima's formulation, the difference between sentences 2-a and 2-b can be explained in terms of the optional application of Indef-incorporation. If Indef-incorporation applies, sentence 2-b is derived. If not, subsequent application of NEG-incorporation is blocked, and then, sentence 2-a is derived. Therefore, in addition to the arbitrary stipulation of obligatory application and blocking of certain transformations, his analysis also violates the Katz-Postal hypothesis (Katz and Postal, 1964) that transformations do not change meaning.

On the other hand, Lasnik (1969) discusses the negation of English in terms of two theories: (a) Determiner theory and (b) Pre-S theory. The Determiner theory claims that not is potentially generated on NP's and Adverbials, and in some circumstances, transformationally relocated onto the Aux. The theory says that the base rules can generate determiners on NPs of the form "not + quantifier," and on adverbials of the form "not + adverb," and that only rules normally involving NPs and Adverbs apply to such NPs. He discusses several rules in the Determiner Theory: Aux Adjustment, Not Shift, and Do-Support. However, he claims that this theory is not substantiated in English, pointing out several problems. Consider the following derivation of the negative sentence from its deep structure:

3. Deep Structure	Jim past solve not many problems.
Not Shift	Jim not past solve many problems.
Aux Adjustment	Jim past not solve many problem.
Do Support	Jim did not solve many problems
Contraction	Jim didn't solve many problems.

3 shows how the negative sentence John didn't solve many problems is derived from its deep structure. Here, if passive is applied to the above deep structure, then Not Shift, Aux Adjustment, and Do-Support will all be inapplicable. The output becomes sentence 4.

4. Not many problems were solved by Jim.

Consider a deep structure with not in the determiner of the subject.

5. Not many of the students will solve this problem.

If passive is not applied, none of the above transformations apply, and the surface structure is the same as the deep structure. If passive is applied, its outcome will satisfy the structural description of Not Shift.

6. This problem will be solved by not many of the students.

Sentence 6 will ultimately produce sentence 7.

7. This problem won't be solved by many of the students.

As shown above, the Determiner Theory is not consistent in applying transformational rules since one structure obligatorily requires them but another structure may not require them. Lasnik also points out that a structure with not generated in both the Aux and the determiner creates an apparent difficulty of the determiner theory analysis. Based on the observations he made, he (1969: 12) says that "significant generalizations

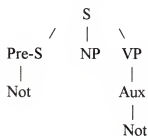
would be missed if the rules of passive and adverb movement were constrained so as to be obligatory or prohibited just in case the wrong choice would produce one of the proscribed outputs I have described.”

On the other hand, the Pre-S theory says that not is generated in a “Pre-S” node. Like the Determiner Theory, Pre-S Theory requires a phrase structure rule generating not in the auxiliary. However, unlike in the Determiner theory, not occurs in the Aux only when it is there in the base.

#### 8. Phrase Structure rules of negation

Aux  $\rightarrow$  (not) Tense ---  
 S  $\rightarrow$  Pre-S NP VP  
 Pre-S  $\rightarrow$  (not)---

Two possible positions for not are shown in the following tree diagram:



A sentence with the above tree diagram is given below:

#### 9. Not many of the arrows didn't hit the target.

Lasnik also discusses sentences, where not + adverb appears in non-sentence initial position.

10. I was a student not long ago.

11. \*I attend class not always.



At the level of surface structure, there is no obvious way in which the two types are distinct. However, sentences 10 and 11 should be distinguished in deep structure. The not occurring in sentence 12 below is generated in the pre-S and transformationally incorporated into the adverb node.

12. Not {always, often} do I attend class.

The difference between sentence 10 and 11 above and 12 can be explained if not in sentence 10 is not generated sentence-initially, but rather is generated within the adverbial in which it appears. In favor of this argument, Lasnik argues that not is an optional modifier in a certain class of adverbial constructions. Compare sentence 13 with 14 (Lasnik 1969: 30).

13. John decided (not) long ago to become a linguist.

14. John (\*not) often attends class.

Lasnik's analysis on negation in English is based on what Klima did before. However, both the Determiner theory and Pre-S theory contribute to an explanation of two major facts which are not noticed by Klima. First, there are grammatical sentences containing both sentence initial and auxiliary co-occurrences of not, that is, Not many of the arrows didn't hit the target. Second, in general, sentences with an occurrence of not to the right of the verb tend to be much worse than one would a priori expect--\* I attend class not always (1969: 7). Even though his analysis contributes to a better understanding of negation in English over Klima's analysis, it is still problematic. He cannot provide a clear answer to the issue of why the insertion of not in front of adverbs is sometimes possible with some adverbs, but is not allowed with other

adverbs. His explanation that not is an optional modifier in certain classes of adverbial constructions seems to be arbitrary. The provision is made up just for the correct NEG-sentences at the surface structure. In addition, with respect to the interpretation of the scope of negation, Lasnik proposes the so-called ‘two derived structure interpretive analyses’ only differing in ordering. He says that in one of them, the interpretation takes place at a late derived level; in the other, it takes place at the end of each syntactic cycle.<sup>1</sup> However, this does not seem to be plausible, since both analyses are provided just to derive the proper interpretation of the scope of negation for the given negative structures.

### 2.1.2 Within the Framework of Interpretive Semantics

Interpretive semanticists such as Jackendoff (1969, 1971, 1972) and Partee (1970) try to account for the scope of negation, in particular, the semantic interrelation between negation and quantifiers, in terms of semantic interpretation rules. Jackendoff claims that the semantic interpretation of the scope of negation is attributed to the surface order of negatives and quantifiers. Consider the following sentences, which Klima’s approach had difficulties in deriving from the same underlying structures. Sentences 2-a and 2-b are repeated here as 15-a and 15-b for convenience.

15-a. Many of the arrows didn’t hit the target.

15-b. Not many of the arrows hit the target.

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<sup>1</sup> For a more detailed discussion of this, see Lasnik (1969, chapter II).

Jackendoff argues that the semantic differences between sentences 15-a and 15-b are due to the difference in the surface order of not and any: in 15-a many precedes not, while in 15-b not precedes many. He also points out the asymmetric interpretations of negative and quantifiers between the active sentences in 15 and their corresponding passive in the following:

16. The target was not hit by many of the arrows.

Structurally, sentence 16 seems to be a passive counterpart of both sentences 15-a and 15-b. However, sentence 16 has only wide-scope reading synonymous to 15-b. Therefore, he argues that the interpretation of quantifier and negation does not depend on the deep structure configuration, but rather on whether there is a quantifier in the derived subject or not, that is, on the surface order of the negative and quantifier. Interpretive semanticists notice that transformations involving quantifiers change meaning. The explanation for allowing a change of meaning via transformations is provided in terms of the surface order of negative and quantifier. There is a problem in this approach since there are counter-examples to their interpretive analysis in terms of the surface order of negative and quantifier. A counter-example is given in 17:

17. The arrows that did not hit the target were many.

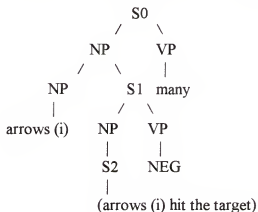
In sentence 17, not precedes many, but sentence 17 is synonymous with sentence 15-a, where many precedes not, and not with sentence 15-b. The interpretive analysis loses ground in the face of this counter-example. Lakoff (1969) notes that in sentence 17,

many follows not, but is in a higher sentence than not, and this “asymmetric command relationship” between not and many marks the difference in scope.

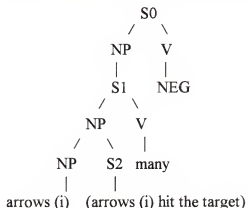
### 2.1.3 Within the Framework of Generative Semantics

Linguists in generative semantics such as Lakoff (1969, 1972) and Carden (1973) argue that negation and quantifiers are generated in the base predicates of higher sentences. By doing so, they attribute the difference between sentence 15-a and 15-b to two deep structures differing only in the relative heights of the higher predicates in their underlying structures: in 15-b, not occurs in a higher sentence than many, while in 15-a, many occurs in a higher sentence than not. Sentences 15-a and 15-b are assigned the underlying structures in 18-a and 18-b, respectively.

18-a. Many of the arrows didn't hit the target.



18-b. Not many of the arrows hit the target.



In the derivation of sentence 15-a from 18-a or 15-b from 18-b, the so-called Quantifier-lowering rule is applied. This rule places quantifiers (probably negatives as well) into a lower sentence. For example, not and many in 18-a are placed into S2, one at a time. However, Quantifier-lowering is criticized by Chomsky (1972: 184-185). He claims that Quantifier-lowering violates the universal constraint that no rule may introduce an item into a phrase of an embedded sentence from outside of that sentence. He also notes that underlying structures such as 18-a and 18-b are not well-motivated and rather *ad hoc*.

Negation has also been one of the major concerns of the later GB linguists such as Chomsky (1989), Pollock (1989), Laka (1994), and so on. Their analyses have been focused on the structural descriptions of English negation. One of the issues they have been interested in is so-called “do-support.” “Do-support” is explained in terms of either the quantificational, operator-like properties of Tense (Pollock: 1989) or the interaction between the Empty Category Principle and the Principle of Economy of

Derivation (Chomsky: 1989). Later, Laka provides an alternative account in which “do-support” is argued to be a direct consequence of the Tense C-command condition.<sup>2</sup> Their analyses, however, rarely go beyond the confines of an isolated sentence. The discourse functions of negation have been neglected by GB linguists.

#### 2.1.4 Within the Framework of Functional/Discourse Approach

There have been conflicting claims with respect to what can be the target of negation. Keenan (1971: 45) proposes a test for logical presupposition which identifies ‘presupposed’ clauses as those which are outside of the scope of negation.<sup>3</sup> He illustrates this with ‘temporal’ subordinate clauses:

19-a. Jim left [before, after, when] Mary called.

19-b. Jim didn’t leave [before, after, when] Mary called.

According to Keenan, both 19-a and 19-b presuppose that Mary called. It is always outside of the scope of negation. However, C. Ross (1978) notes that some subordinate clauses beginning with conjunctions like because, although, and since can be negated either ‘internally’ (i.e. with negation occurring within the main clause) or externally (i.e. with negation occurring in a clause outside the joined sequence) as in the following sentences 20-a and 20-b:

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<sup>2</sup> For a detailed discussion of the “do-support” in negation by GB linguists, see Laka (1994).

<sup>3</sup> He gives the following statement for a logical presupposition:

A sentence S logically presupposes a sentence S’ just in case S logically implies S’---. The truth of S’ is a necessary condition on the truth or falsity of S.

- 20-a. Jim didn't leave because Mary called. (internal negation)  
 20-b. It is not the case that Jim left because Mary called. (external negation)  
 (=) Jim left not because Mary called, but for some other reason.

Therefore, Ross claims that Keenan's test for a logical presupposition does not yield consistent outcomes, since the presupposed clause can be inside of the scope of negation as in 20-b. She also claims that the test proposed by Keenan does not resolve the question of whether or not the presupposed clauses are impervious to NEG.<sup>4</sup> She says that even though only presupposed information can be the target of negation, it is not the case that every piece of presupposed information can be its target. She provides a lot of data showing that not all presupposed information is the target of negation. Based on the observation she has made, she proposes the Right Most Principle that NEG does not simply cover any piece of presupposed information in the sentence: it covers the rightmost piece of presupposed information (1978: 418). She provides the following sentences to further illustrate her principle.

21. John didn't write to Mary.  
 (=a) John did something but it wasn't writing to Mary. [NEG VP]  
 (=b) John did write to some one but it was not to Mary. [NEG NP]  
 (≠c) John did something to Mary but it was not writing. [NEG V]

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<sup>4</sup> Givon (1984: 323) also associates NEG with pragmatic presupposition, which is to be distinguished from Keenan's logical presupposition. He says that only presupposed information needs to be negated. For example,

My wife's not pregnant.

The sentence above will be inappropriate unless 'pregnancy' of the speaker's wife is presupposed by the addressee.

She says that NEG can identify a relatively high level of constituent structure and treat the VP as its rightmost constituent (as in 21-a), or it can identify a lower level constituent (as in 21-b). Therefore, both the VP and the NP are possible targets of negation. However, V alone cannot become the target of negation since V is not the rightmost constituent at any level of constituent structure. Her principle becomes problematic when applied to an open set of data. Consider the following sentence.

22. John doesn't beat his wife because he loves her.  
 (=a) John loves his wife, and that's why he doesn't beat her.  
 (=b) John beats his wife not because he loves her but for some other reasons.

Two readings are possible for sentence 22. According to Ross's rightmost principle, "beat his wife" will be the rightmost constituents, as in the 22-a reading. On the other hand, in the 22-b reading, the "because" clause is the rightmost constituent. Therefore, Ross's principle cannot provide a reasonable explanation for the possibility of two readings. Another problem lies in sentences where some constituent is contrastively stressed. Consider the following sentences.

23. John didn't **eat** the pizza. (---he threw it away.)  
 24. **John** didn't eat the pizza. (---Mary ate it.)  
 25. My **wife's** not pregnant. (---my sister is.)  
 26. **My wife's** not pregnant. (---Tom's wife is.)

In sentences 23, 24, 25, and 26, non-rightmost constituents become the target of negation. She has difficulties explaining the target of negation for sentences like the above. Therefore, she suggests an *ad hoc* rule that if a non-rightmost constituent is given contrastive stress, then the stressed constituent becomes the target of negation,



not the rightmost one. She notes that stress plays the most important role in the interpretation of the target of negation in English. One of the reasons why she claims the rightmost principle can be attributed to the fact that in English, the final constituent usually receives primary stress in unmarked situations. However, her rightmost constituent principle is criticized by McGloin. McGloin (1986) notes that in unmarked cases, adverbs are always the target of negation, not only in English but also in Japanese. To account for this fact, Ross needs another *ad hoc* rule. On the other hand, McGloin believes that there is no communicative reason to state the manner or positive degree of a certain event or situation if the event has not happened or if the situation does not exist. Therefore, she claims that such adverbs are the new information in sentence. In addition, she points out that there is a fundamental relationship between the rightmost principle and the given/new information flow in a sentence. In English the rightmost constituent represents new information in unmarked situations and hence is generally associated with primary stress. Based on the observations she has made, she suggests a new principle: the target of negation is that constituent which represents the newest information (1986: 31). The following examples are given for her argument from both English and Japanese:

27. Mary didn't do her homework carefully.

28. Kinoo wa shigoto ga isogashi-kat-ta kara uchi de gohan o tabe-na-kat-ta.  
 yesterday work busy PST home supper eat-NEG-PST  
 'Since I was busy with my work yesterday, I did not eat supper at home.'

In sentence 27, although VP ('do homework carefully') is a rightmost constituent and should be a possible target of negation as Ross predicts, the only possible target of negation is the adverb carefully. Sentence 28 means that I ate supper somewhere but not at home. Here, the target of negation is the locative phrase uchi de 'at home'---- the newest information. McGloin's principle is more general than the rightmost constituent principle, in that it provides a good insight into the interpretation of the scope of negation in English as well as in Japanese and Korean.<sup>5</sup> Moreover, her principle also helps clarify the target of negation in the case of sentences where a stress falls on a usually non-stressed constituent, as in sentences 23, 24, 25, and 26. With respect to the role of phonological prominence in sentence/discourse, Taglicht (1984: 99) also notes that the intonation highlights selected parts of an utterance and so provides the basis for an assessment of given vs. new information contained in it. He also believes that negation is usually, though not always, associated with the focal items within its scope.

## 2.2 Literature on Korean Negation

One of the baffling problems linguists have been faced with in Korean grammar is negation. This is partly because linguists have paid too much attention to the issue of underlying representation at the expense of the semantic difference

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<sup>5</sup> Data from Korean also show that the target of negation is always the newest information in discourse. This will be discussed in chapter 4.

between the two forms of negation<sup>6</sup> and partly because they have paid little attention to the functional and discourse significance of the two. In addition, the data analyzed in this area of Korean linguistics seem to have been very shaky in that sometimes they were just made up, and very often they were collected from very limited written sources.<sup>7</sup> In what follows, a brief review of previous approaches to Korean negation is presented. These includes the transformational-generative approach, descriptive vs. metalinguistic negation, and the “Least Effort Principle” for the two forms of negation.

### 2.2.1 Two Forms of Negation in Korean

It is known that Korean has two forms of negation. They are variously called short vs. long, preverbal vs. postverbal, verbal vs. sentential, and so on, depending on the point of view the linguist adopts in the analysis. At this point, I will call them short and long forms of negation or short NEG and long NEG. In short NEG, the negative

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<sup>6</sup> Korean linguists are divided into two groups, depending on how they treat the underlying representations for the two forms of negation: a) the same underlying representation for both (Cho, 1975; Kim, 1977; Kwon, 1993) and b) different underlying representations (Han, 1987; Song, 1988).

<sup>7</sup> Data in Korean linguists’ analyses are often questionable. For example, one corpus discussed in research was either taken from very old sources or made up by the author, and certain forms are not used in modern Korean. Especially, the negated predicate ani-hata is not used any more in either written or spoken language. One of the examples is given below:

Pi-ka	o-ci	<u>ani-han-ta</u>
rain-SM	come-NM	NEG-do-DCL

‘It does not rain.’

morpheme an is placed before the verb, and in long NEG the nominalizer ci is suffixed to the verb and the negative morpheme an follows it. For an affirmative sentence 29-a, both short and long NEGs are possible, as shown in 29-b and 29-c, respectively:

- 29-a. Ku nyu-nun yeppu -ta. (affirmative)  
       the woman SM pretty -DCL  
       ‘The woman is pretty.’
- 29-b. Ku nyu-nun an-yeppu -ta. (short NEG)  
       the woman-SM NEG-pretty DCL  
       ‘The woman is not pretty.’
- 29-c. Ku nyu-nun yeppu-ci an -ta. (long NEG)  
       the woman SM pretty NM NEG-DCL  
       ‘It is not the case that the woman is pretty.’

The two forms of negation have been given the following various names, according to the viewpoints linguists adopt in their analyses:

- Verbal vs. Sentential (Kuno: 1980)
- Pre-verbal vs. Post-verbal (Cho: 1975)
- Short vs. Long (Martin: 1969)
- Type I vs. Type II (Yang: 1976)
- Simple vs. Complex (Song: 1988)

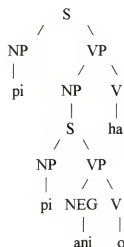
### 2.2.2 Single-base Hypothesis for the Two Forms of Negation

Transformational linguists assume that the two types of negative sentences have a single underlying structure (Oh, 1971; H. Lee, 1972; S. Kim, 1967).

- 30-a. Pi-ka o-n-ta.  
       rain-SM come-PRS-DCL  
       ‘Rain comes = It rains.’
- 30-b. Pi-ka an-o-n-ta. (short NEG)  
       rain-SM NEG-come-PRS-DCL  
       ‘Rain not comes = It does not rain.’

30-c. Pi-ka    o-ci            ani-ha-n-ta. (long NEG)  
 rain-SM come-NM   NEG-do-PRS-DCL  
 'It is not the case that it rains.'

S. Kim (1967) assumes a post-sentential NEG (something like [[s] NEG]), which seems comparable to Klima's (1964: 316) pre-sentential NEG, and a transformational rule of NEG-Shift which positions the NEG in its appropriate place in Korean. In deriving sentence 30-c, the items ci and ha 'do' are introduced by rules called ci insertion and ha 'do' addition.<sup>8</sup> H. Lee (1970, 1972) also posits a single base hypothesis. His underlying structure for NEG-sentences above in Korean can roughly be represented as follows:



<sup>8</sup> The ha addition is introduced because S. Kim analyses sentences with long NEG where the verb ha 'do' is realized at surface structure as in 30-c. As discussed above, the example she discusses for the sentence with long NEG is not used either in spoken or written form. Sentence 30-c is realized without representation of the verb ha in actual use as following:

Pi-ka    o-ci            an-nun-ta.  
 rain-SM come-NM   NEG-PRS-DCL  
 'It is not the case that it rains.'

To derive the short NEG 30-b from 30-a, a rule of ha 'do' deletion is postulated. To derive the long NEG 30-c, a rule of NEG-transportation, or NEG-raising, is formulated. Likewise, Oh (1971) assumes a single base for the two forms of negation, where the verb ha 'do' is not represented in the underlying structure. In his analysis, a rule of ha addition is formulated to derive the long NEG. Thus, basically Oh's analysis is the reverse of Lee's (1972). The most important motivation for the single base hypothesis is the assumption that the two forms of negation are synonymous. Oh (1971: 46) definitely claims that the two negation types are completely synonymous with each other. Lee (1972: 62) also argues that the two types are synonymous, and hence that they must be derived from a single deep structure. However, most native speakers of Korean believe that there are some semantic and pragmatic differences between the two NEG-forms. Therefore, a single base hypothesis for the two types of negation has been challenged (Song 1966 ; Hahn 1986). Even though many Korean transformational linguists argue for either the ha deletion or ha addition rule in Korean negation, no modern Korean copula, except those from very limited sources, shows any existence of the verb ha in Korean negation. Note that the example in 30-c is not acceptable in actual use. Only in the case of NEG-sentences with NEG-morpheme mot, is the verb ha with long NEG represented in surface structure as in 31.<sup>9</sup>

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<sup>9</sup> It also seems difficult to claim that ha in sentence 31 is equivalent to do/does in an English negative sentence. The auxiliary verb do/does in English is used to negate verbs involving action or activity, while ha in Korean is not necessarily used to negate verbs involving an action or activity. Ha in sentence 31 rather seems a morpheme (even though it is very difficult to name it), accompanying the NEG morpheme mot in Korean.

31. Younghee-nun yeppu-ci mot-ha-ta.  
 Younghee-SM pretty-NM NEG-do-DCL  
 'Younghee is not pretty.'

One of the reasons why Korean linguists discuss ha deletion or ha addition in Korean negation is that their analysis is too much based on possible parallels between the structural description of negation in Korean and English. Therefore, they have to come up with a ha deletion or ha addition rule that corresponds to the do-support in English to explain the derivation of the surface structure from the deep structure. However, not only do they have difficulties deciding whether it is ha deletion or ha addition that should be proposed, but they also have to decide arbitrarily when the rules apply in the derivation from deep structure. Therefore, Lee (1980: 56) claims that neither ha deletion nor ha addition is a general rule in Korean negation. Hahn (1986) recognizes the fact that the two forms of negation may not be completely synonymous. He suggests that they differ from each other in the scope of negation, especially when a universal quantifier is used in a NEG-sentence, for instance, ta 'all.'

- 32-a. Ta an o -ess -ta.  
 all NEG come-PST-DCL  
 'Nobody came.'
- 32-b. Ta o-ci an -ess -ta.  
 all come-NM NEG-PST DCL  
 'Nobody came.' or 'Not everybody came.'

Even though he is one of the few generative linguists who recognize some differences between these two forms of negation, he is still reluctant to admit any meaning difference between them.





speech corresponds to /c/ in some dialects of Korean, as shown in the following examples (1988: 75):

Table 1. Standard and Dialectal Form for the sound /k/

<i>Standard Speech Form</i>	<i>Dialectal Variant</i>
<u>kil</u> 'road'	<u>cil</u>
<u>Kim sepan</u> g 'Mr. Kim'	<u>cim sepan</u> g
<u>kilum</u> 'oil'	<u>cilum</u>
<u>kimchi</u> 'cabbage pickle'	<u>cimchi</u>
<u>kili</u> 'length'	<u>cili</u>

In Song's analysis, neither NEG-transportation (NEG-incorporation) nor ha 'do' deletion/ha 'do' addition is necessary. He also claims that one of the reasons why the single base hypothesis has some syntactic difficulties lies in the treatment of the so-called double negatives (Song 1966: 13-14, 18).

36. Pi-ka      an-o-ci      ani- ha-n-ta.  
      rain-SM   NEG-come-NM   NEG-do-PRS-DCL  
      'It is not the case that it does not rain.'

Structurally, double negative is identical with the long NEG plus another particle in its embedded sentence. Therefore, he argues that it is apparent that a single base hypothesis with the rules of NEG-transportation and ha-deletion cannot derive the double negative sentence 36. However, Song's analysis also seems problematic. It is true that /k/ is /c/ in some dialects, as he argues above. Yet it is not completely convincing to draw a morphophonemic rule like 35 from a dialectal variation shown in Table 1, which is not only purely phonological (even phonetic) in nature, but also optional in practice. Moreover, the corresponding affirmative sentence 34-a for the

negative sentence 34-b is not an acceptable construction, either in spoken or written form.

#### 2.2.4 Descriptive vs. Metalinguistic Negation

Horn (1985) suggests that perhaps Korean negation is unique in that short NEG can be used only descriptively while long NEG may be used either descriptively or metalinguistically. He discusses the negation of scalar predicates as an instance of metalinguistic use when it gives a “more than” or “other than” reading instead of the unmarked, descriptive “less than” reading. An example of these in English is given in 37.

37-a. Descriptive “less than” reading  
She is not pretty.

37-b. Metalinguistic “more than” reading  
She is not pretty. She is beautiful.

37-c. Metalinguistic “other than” reading  
She is not pretty. She is intelligent.

However, Song (1988) presents an example in which short NEG also can be used for metalinguistic negation.

38. John-i Sakwa-lul tu-kay an mek-ess-ta.  
John-SM apple-OM two-piece NEG-eat-PST-DCL  
‘John did not eat two apples.’

Sentence 38 could be used to mean either (a) “John ate less than two apples” or (b) “John ate more than two apples.” Therefore, the data show that short NEG in Korean is not unambiguously descriptive as Horn suggests. On the other hand, McClanahan

(1991) says that Korean appears to have a periphrastic construction especially appropriate for metalinguistic negation.<sup>10</sup> He also adds that the periphrastic construction is limited to the metalinguistic usage; it may be used either descriptively or metalinguistically. The periphrastic negative construction in Korean is given in 39:

39. Mary-nun yeppun-key ani-ko arumtap-ta.  
 Mary-TOP pretty-CMP NEG-but beautiful-DCL  
 'Mary isn't pretty, she's beautiful.'

His claim actually suggests that it is difficult to decide whether a Korean NEG-form implies a descriptive meaning or metalinguistic meaning, though a periphrastic construction is more appropriate for a metalinguistic meaning. I would rather claim that the interpretation of negation in Korean does not depend wholly on the NEG-form itself, but rather largely on the discourse context where the negative sentence is uttered. In other words, native speakers of Korean know exactly when the above negative sentence 38 has a descriptive meaning 'less than' and when it has a metalinguistic

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<sup>10</sup> This holds true for Japanese and English. McClanahan gives the following periphrastic construction for metalinguistic negation in Japanese, which is also discussed in McGloin (1986):

- (a) Atsui dokoroka nietagit-te i-ru yo.  
 hot far from boiling be-PRS  
 'It's far from hot; it's boiling.'
- (b) Atsui nante yuu mon ja na-i. Nietagit-te i-ru yo.  
 'It's not something you can call hot. It's boiling.'

On the other hand, in English, people sometimes use "it is not the case" or "it is not true that" to express a metalinguistic type of negation.

meaning ‘more than or other than.’ The following is a conversation between a boy and his parents. The son asks his father to buy a new Nintendo game:

40. Son : Appa, nintendo game hana de sacuseyo?  
 Daddy, nintendo game one more buy  
 ‘Daddy, could you buy me one more Nintendo game?’

Daddy: Ne-nun way cakku satalako kureni? iben yerum-ey tukay sacuesscana.  
 you-TOP why always buy so this summer-at two bought  
 ‘Why do you always want me to buy it? I bought you two this summer.’

Mom: Tukay-ka ani-eyo. Saykay-na (hana-man) sacuessnunteyo.  
 two-SM NEG-DCL three-even (one-only) bought  
 ‘Not two games, you even (only) bought him three (one).’

In the above conversation, we do not know whether the short-NEG implies ‘less than’ or ‘more than’ until the next sentence comes up in the discourse. There is no way to differentiate between the two different readings for the NEG-form through either syntactic or phonological means in Korean. Either interpretation is possible, as the above examples show. As a result, I believe that the interpretation of the NEG forms in Korean should not be directly derived from NEG-structures but rather from the discourse marker nun and other discourse context where the negative sentences are used. The issue of how people can interpret negative sentences and how people can figure out the scope of negation in Korean will be discussed in the next two chapters.

### 2.2.5 Least Effort Principle

Householder (1971) says that while the adjective pale can readily be combined with a great many color words such as pale green, pale blue, it does not readily

combine with others such as red because there is a common English word for “pale red,” namely pink. McCawley (1978) believes that when we choose one utterance over another that could be produced, a conversational implicature results from the choice. Therefore, he suggests that English speakers will not use the word pale red instead of pink unless they have some special reason: pale red might suggest that the color in question is not a normal pink but rather is some other shade of red, a shade which is paler than what might normally be considered red but not so pale as to be considered pink. McCawley notes that pale red requires more effort than pink because of both its greater surface complexity and its more complex phonetic makeup. Thus, English speakers will choose the simple form over the complex one except for some special reason. What guides the choice is the principle of least effort.

On the other hand, McClanahan (1991) suggests that the least effort principle can offer insight into the distribution of the short and long forms of negation in Korean. He claims that the short NEG is less complex in surface structure and contains less phonological material than the long NEG. We can expect that in cases where both forms are possible, the shorter, less complex NEG will be used by speakers. Thus, he argues that the negative construction of least effort (short NEG) is considered appropriate in casual and informal conversational situations. Similarly, the relatively greater length and structural complexity of the long NEG explains why it is considered appropriate in more formal conversational situations as well as in written language. In other words, the short NEG is used for casualness and informality.

### 2.3 Necessity for a New Approach

So far, various analyses on the two forms of negation in Korean have been discussed. Some transformational-generative linguists claim that the two forms of negation are derived from the same underlying representation. This claim does not seem reasonable because the two forms of negation are much different from each other syntactically. On the other hand, Song argues for a double-base hypothesis for the two forms of negation. But his analysis is not supportable either, since the assumed corresponding affirmative sentence for the long NEG is never realized in the surface, though that may not be a problem in his framework. Kwon (1993) claims a modified underlying representation for the two forms of negation since they have the same structural distribution and semantic scope. However, the examples he discusses represent only a small portion of the complex structure in Korean. In short, the problem with the transformational-generative approach to negation in Korean is that the analysts have paid too much attention to the issue of what underlying structures the two forms of negation have and how surface negative sentences are derived from their hypothesized/presumed underlying structures. And their analyses of Korean negation have been done exclusively from the perspectives of structural descriptions of Western languages. It may not be reasonable to expect the structure of Korean to be parallel to that of Western languages, since Korean has more flexible structural restrictions than those of many Western languages with respect to word order and case-marking.

As discussed above, McClanahan (1991) claims that “the Principle of Least Effort” governs the choice between the short and long forms of negation in Korean. According to this principle, the short NEG is favored over the long NEG for its simplicity in phonological form, unless there is some specific reason to do otherwise. However, his analysis is not strong enough to explain the distributions of the two forms, as there are other pragmatic differences involved in choosing between them.

Song (1966, 1971, 1975, 1988) is one of the few Korean linguists who have analyzed the forms of negation from various perspectives. From one viewpoint, he postulates the “Well-Formedness Condition” in Korean negation (1988: 85):

Mark the simplex sentence containing the sequence an(i) + DV (Descriptive Verb) ungrammatical if the stem of the DV is made up of three or more syllables.

His rule indicates that the number of syllables play an important rule in judging the grammaticality of the short NEG in Korean. However, it is hard to determine the grammaticality of a negative predicate when it is presented without discourse context. The rule is so powerful that it rules out many cases where the short NEG is actually used with a DV of three or more syllable stem in Korean. For example,

41. Mary-ka arumtaun-ci, an-arumtaun-ci morkess-ta.  
     Mary-SM beautiful-NM NEG-beautiful-NM-don't know-DCL  
     'I don't know whether Mary is beautiful or not.'

In sentence 41, a predicate with four syllable stem (i.e. arumtaun 'beautiful') is negated with the short NEG and the sentence is very natural. The “Well-Formedness

Condition” postulated by Song cannot explain why the above sentence 41 is possible in Korean.

In sum, even though a lot of research has been done on the two forms of negation in Korean, it has all been in the form of syntactic analysis from the structural viewpoint of Western languages. Little research has been done to examine the basic nature, semantic differences, and distributions of Korean negation and their appropriateness in use. Above all, little attention has been paid to the scope interpretation and the discourse differences between the two forms of negation.



## CHAPTER 3 NEGATIVE FORMS IN KOREAN

### 3.1 Introduction

As mentioned in chapter 1, there are two main trends in linguistic research: one is formal and the other is functional. Leech (1983: 46) considers formalism and functionalism as “associated with very different views of the nature of language,” specifically the following:

1. Formalists (e.g., Chomsky) tend to regard language primarily as a mental phenomenon. Functionalists (e.g., Halliday, Kuno, etc.) tend to regard it primarily as a societal phenomenon.
2. Formalists tend to explain linguistic universals as deriving from common genetic linguistic inheritance of the human species. Functionalists tend to explain them as deriving from the universality of the uses to which language is put in human society.
3. Formalists are inclined to explain children’s acquisition of language in terms of a built-in human capacity to learn language. Functionalists are inclined to explain it in terms of the development of the child’s communicative needs and abilities in society.
4. Above all, formalists study language as an autonomous system, whereas functionalists study it in relation to its social function.

Schiffirin (1994: 22) notes that functionalism is based on two general assumptions: (a) language has functions that are external to the linguistic system itself; (b) external functions influence the internal organization of the linguistic system. In short, we can

say that functionalism is an approach to grammatical descriptions and analysis of linguistic phenomena which takes the communicative functions of linguistic structures to be crucial and central to their explanations.<sup>1</sup> On the other hand, Nichols (1984: 102-103) distinguishes among conservative, moderate and extreme functionalists.

The conservative type merely acknowledges the inadequacy of strict formalism or structuralism, without proposing a new analysis of structure. The moderate type not only points out the inadequacy of a formalist or structural analysis, but goes on to propose a functionalist analysis of structure and hence to replace or change inherited formal or structural accounts of structure. Extreme functionalism denies, in one way or another, the reality of structure *qua* structure. It may claim that rules are based entirely on function and hence there are no purely syntactic constraints; that structure is only coded function or the like.

The extreme view is found in the works of Thompson (1988), Hopper (1987), Halliday (1985), and Lambrecht (1994). Foley and Van Valin (1984) fall under the moderated functionalist category. On the other hand, Kuno's view of functionalism is different from that of both moderate and extreme functionalism. Kuno (1987: 1) says that "in theory there is no conflict between functional syntax and, say, the government and binding theory of generative grammar." He believes that the basic notion of structure assumed by generative grammar is valid and what is necessary in the generative approach is to add functional principles to fill in where purely syntactic principles

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<sup>1</sup> In his discussion on functionalism, Croft (1995) says that the functionalist approach is based on the hypothesis that at least some basic facts of syntax can be accounted for in functional terms as well. He (1995: 490-532) also reviews several functional approaches and the corresponding positions they adopt in their analyses: (a) autonomist functionalism, (b) mixed formal/functionalist, (c) typological functionalism, (d) extreme functionalism, (e) contemporary formalism and external functional and (f) integrative functionalism.

fail.<sup>2</sup> Therefore, his approach seems to place him near the conservative functionalist category. In the present research, the extreme functionalists' view point of language will be taken because the forms and interpretations of negation in Korean are heavily influenced by functions associated with constituents in a sentence/discourse.

### 3.2 Nature of the Short and Long Forms of Negation.

As discussed in chapter 2, some Korean linguists have proposed a single-base hypothesis for the two forms of negation, but others have proposed a double-base one. Whatever their claims are, both hypotheses imply that all affirmative sentences can basically have two corresponding forms of negation. In fact, they don't. It is, therefore, necessary for us to examine the distribution of the two forms in order to gain a better understanding of the nature of Korean negation.

#### 3.2.1 Distribution of NEG-Forms in Korean

To find out the syntactic nature of the two forms of negation, we will examine the distribution of each. We find that some predicates can have both forms of negation but others can have only one. Despite the slight irregularity, I claim that the distribution of the NEG-forms basically depends on the type of predicates in which they occur. In a traditional way, I group Korean predicates into four types: (a) NP + Copula, (b) Adjective + Copula, (c) (NP) + Korean native verb, and (d) (NP) + Sino-

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<sup>2</sup> The same approach is also adopted in a recent book, Grammar and Discourse Principles: Functional syntax and GB Theory by S. Kuno and Ken-ichi Takami (1993).

Korean verb. In what follows, the distribution of NEG-forms for each type of predicate will be examined.

### I. Predicate---NP + Copula

- 1-a. Ku-nun hakseng-ita.  
He-TOP student-is  
'He is a student.'
- 1-b. \*Ku-nun an-hakseng-ita. (short NEG)  
He-TOP NEG-student-is  
'He is not a student.'
- 1-c. Ku-nun hakseng-i ani-ta. (long NEG)  
He-TOP student-NOM NEG-is  
'He is not a student.'
- 2-a. Younghee-nun babo-ta.  
Younghee-TOP fool-is  
'Younghee is a fool.'
- 2-b. \*Younghee-nun an-babo-ta. (short NEG)  
Younghee-TOP NEG-fool-is  
'Younghee is not a fool.'
- 2-c. Younghee-nun babo-ga ani-ta. (long NEG)  
Younghee-TOP fool-NOM NEG-is  
'Younghee is not a fool.'

From the above, we conclude that if the type of predicate is 'NP + Copula,' only the long form of negation is possible.

### II. Predicate---Adjective + Copula

- 3-a. Younghee-nun yeppu-ta.  
Younghee-TOP pretty-is  
'Younghee is pretty.'
- 3-b. Younghee-nun an-yeppu-ta. (short NEG)  
Younghee-TOP NEG-pretty-is  
'Younghee is not pretty.'

3-c. Younghee-nun yeppu-ci an-ta (long NEG)

Younghee-TOP pretty-NM NEG-ta

‘Younghee is not pretty.’

4-a. Younghee-nun ku-ta

Younghee-SM tall-is

‘Younghee is tall.’

4-b. Younghee-nun an-ku-ta (short NEG)

Younghee-TOP NEG-tall-is

‘Younghee is not tall.’

4-c. Younghee-nun ku-ci an-ta (long NEG)

Younghee-TOP tall-NM NEG-is

‘Younghee is not tall.’

The above sentences show that if the type of predicate is ‘Adjective + Copula,’ either the short form or the long form of negation is possible.

### III. Predicate---(NP) + Native Korean Verb

#### III-A. Transitive Construction (NP + Korean Native Verb)

5-a. Younghee-nun Jim-ul jugi-ess-ta.

Younghee-TOP Jim-OM kill-PST-DCL

‘Younghee killed Jim.’

5-b. Younghee-nun Jim-ul an-jugi-ess-ta (short NEG)

Younghee-TOP Jim-OM NEG-kill-PST-DCL

‘Younghee did not kill Jim.’

5-c. Younghee-nun Jim-ul jugi-ci-an-ess-ta (long NEG)

Younghee-TOP Jim-OM kill-NM-NEG-PST-DCL

‘Younghee did not kill Jim.’

#### III-B. Intransitive Construction (Native Korean Verb)

6-a. Park daytongryung-i jug-ess-ta.

Park President-SM die-PST-DCL

‘President Park died.’

- 6-b. Park daytongryung-i an-jug-ess-ta. (short NEG)  
 Park President-SM NEG-die-PST-DCL  
 'President Park did not die.'

- 6-c. Park daytongryung-i jug-ci an-ess-ta. (long NEG)  
 Park President-SM die-NM-NEG-PST-DCL  
 'Present Park did not die.'

Sentences in 5 and 6 show that the native Korean verbs behave the same way as the predicate 'Adjective + Copular' with regard to negation: both short and long forms are possible, regardless of whether the verbs are transitive or intransitive.

#### IV. Predicate---(NP) + Sino-Korean Verb

##### IV-A. Transitive Construction (NP + Sino-Korean Verb)

- 7-a. Jim-un siksa-ttay enceyna suce-lul sayong-ha-n-ta.  
 Jim-TOP meal-time always spoon-OM use-do-PRS-DCL  
 'Jim uses a spoon when he eats food.'
- 7-b. Jim-un siksa-ttay enceyna suce-lul an-sayong-ha-n-ta. (short NEG)  
 Jim-TOP meal-time always spoon-OM NEG-use-do-PRS-DCL  
 'Jim does not use a spoon when he eats food.'
- 7-c. Jim-nun siksa-ttay enceyna suce-lul sayong-ha-ci-an-nun-ta. (long NEG)  
 Jim-SM meal-time always spoon-OM use-do-PRS-DCL  
 'Jim does not use a spoon when he eats food.'
- 8-a. Ku-hoysa-nun silnayeyse hupyen-ul kumci-ha-ess-ta.  
 the-company-TOP indoor smoking-OM prohibition-do-PST-DCL  
 'The company prohibited smoking indoors.'
- 8-b. ?Ku-hoysa-nun silnayeyse hupyen-ul an-kumci-ha-ess-ta. (short NEG)  
 the-company-TOP indoor smoking-OM NEG-prohibition-do-PST-DCL  
 'The company did not prohibit smoking indoors.'
- 8-c. Ku-hoysa-nun silnayeyse hupyen-ul kumci-ha-ci-an-ess-ta. (long NEG)  
 the-company-TOP indoor smoking-OM prohibition-do-NM-NEG-PST-DCL  
 'The company did not prohibit smoking indoors.'

- 9-a. Kutul-un panyekca-lul chyebyung-ha-ess-ta.  
 they-TOP traitor-SM execution-do-PST-DCL  
 ‘They executed the traitor.’
- 9-b. \*Kutul-un panyekca-lul an-chyebyung-ha-ess-ta. (short NEG)  
 they-TOP traitor-SM NEG-execution-do-PST-DCL  
 ‘They did not execute the traitor.’
- 9-c. Kutul-un panyekca-lul chyebyung-ha-ci-an-ess-ta. (long NEG)  
 they-TOP traitor-SM execution-do-NM-NEG-PST-DCL  
 ‘They did not execute the traitor.’

As seen in 7 - 9, the Sino-Korean verbs in the transitive construction differ from one another in their compatibility with the NEG-forms. Some Sino-Korean verbs, like sayonghata ‘use’ in 7 can take both forms; but others, like chyebyunghata ‘execute’ in 9 can take only the long form. There are also different degrees of acceptability for the short NEG of Sino-Korean verbs, that is, the short NEG in 8-b is more acceptable than in 9-b, but less so than in 7-b. The same variation applies to Sino-Korean verbs in the intransitive construction.

#### IV-B Intransitive Construction (Sino-Korean Verb)

- 10-a. Ku-il-un pikon-ha-ta.  
 the-work-TOP tiredness-do-DCL  
 ‘The work is tiresome.’
- 10-b. Ku-ul-un an-pikon-ha-ta. (short NEG)  
 the-work-TOP NEG-tiredness-do-DCL  
 ‘The work is not tiresome.’
- 10-c. Ku-il-in pikon-ha-ta. (long NEG)  
 the-work-TOP tiredness-do-DCL  
 ‘The work is tiresome.’
- 11-a. Mary-nun cengsuk-ha-ta.  
 Mary-TOP chastity-do-DCL  
 ‘Mary is chaste.’

- 11-b. ?Mary-nun an-cengsuk-ha-ta (short NEG)  
 Mary-TOP chastity-do-DCL  
 'Mary is not chaste.'
- 11-c. Mary-nun cengsuk-ha-ci-an-ta (long NEG)  
 Mary-TOP chastity-do-NM-NEG-DCL  
 'Mary is chaste.'
- 12-a. Park daytongryung-i sege-ha-ess-ta  
 Park Present-SM death-do-PST-DCL  
 'President Park passed away.'
- 12-b. \*Park daytongryung-i an-sege-ha-ess-ta (short NEG)  
 Park President-SM NEG-death-do-PST-DCL  
 'President Park did not pass away.'
- 12-c. Park daytongryung-i sege-ha-ci-an-ess-ta (long NEG)  
 Park President-NM death-do-NM-NEG-PST-DCL  
 'Present Park did not pass away.'

Sentences in 10 - 12 show that the Sino-Korean verbs in the intransitive construction also differ from one another in their compatibility with the NEG-forms just as those in the transitive construction. In short, as seen in sentences 1 - 12 above, it is clear that it is basically predicate type that determines the distribution of the NEG-forms in Korean. Except for the predicate 'NP + Copula,' which only takes the long form of negation, all other types of Korean predicates can take both forms. However, in the case of Sino-Korean verbs, there are some problems. That is, some Sino-Korean verbs (e.g., sayonghata 'use') can take both forms of negation, but others (e.g., chychyunghata 'execute') cannot, regardless of whether they are transitive or intransitive verbs. Furthermore, there are also different degrees of acceptability or grammaticality for the short NEG with Sino-Korean verbs.



From the facts above, it is reasonable to assume that the long NEG is the unmarked form of negation in Korean because it occurs in all predicates, regardless of predicate type. As an unmarked form, the long NEG is more basic in Korean, and its speakers have no difficulty applying this long form to all verbs, including those derived from Chinese nouns. The short NEG, being the marked form, occurs with some irregularity. That is, different degrees of grammaticality or acceptability apply among the Sino-Korean verbs. How can we explain this irregularity? An answer may lie in the derivational history of the verbs involved.

Sino-Korean verbs are verbs derived from Chinese. They are derived by attaching the verbal morpheme hata 'do' to the nouns from Chinese. Parallel to them, some native Korean verbs are derived from nouns in the same manner. These two kinds of verb are given below:

Table 2. Group 1 (Korean Native Verbs: Verbs Derived from Korean Nouns)

Korean Noun + <u>hata</u> 'to do'	Verb
<u>il</u> 'work' + <u>hata</u>	<u>ilhata</u> 'work'
<u>sarang</u> 'love' + <u>hata</u>	<u>saranghata</u> 'love'

Table 3. Group 2 (Sino-Korean Verbs: Verbs Derived from Chinese Nouns)

Chinese Noun + <u>hata</u> 'to do'	Verb
<u>ibyul</u> 'separation' + <u>hata</u>	<u>ibyulhata</u> 'separate'
<u>gyulhon</u> 'marriage' + <u>hata</u>	<u>gyulhonhata</u> 'marry'
<u>kongpu</u> 'study' + <u>hata</u>	<u>kongpuhata</u> 'study'
<u>junbi</u> 'preparation' + <u>hata</u>	<u>junbihata</u> 'prepare'
<u>sege</u> 'death' + <u>hata</u>	<u>segehata</u> 'pass away'
<u>sogye</u> 'introduction' + <u>hata</u>	<u>sogyehata</u> 'introduce'

As illustrated in Table 3, all Sino-Korean verbs are derived by the suffixation of the morpheme hata 'do' to Chinese nouns the same way as native Korean verbs are derived from Korean nouns. Because Sino-Korean verbs can be written either in the Korean alphabet or with Chinese characters, and they are derived the same way as some native Korean verbs are, the etymological difference between them is not always obvious. Since Koreans do not normally learn to write or read Chinese characters until middle/high school, only educated adults can make a good judgment about whether a particular verb is native Korean or Sino-Korean, written in the Korean alphabet. Based on the facts above, an explanation for the irregularity can be sought by following the line of reasoning below:

First of all, it was assumed that the unmarked form of negation is the long NEG in Korean. This form applies to both Sino-Korean and Korean native verbs.<sup>3</sup> Conversely, the short form applies to Korean native verbs freely, but to Sino-Korean verbs only under certain conditions.

Secondly, if we examine Sino-Korean verbs closely, we find that some verbs derived from Chinese nouns, such as sayonghata 'use,' pikönhata 'be tiresome,' are so

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<sup>3</sup> Kim-Renaud says (1974: 18) that Middle (15th-17th century) Korean had more Type I negation (i.e. short NEG) than Type II (i.e. long NEG). This suggests that the unmarked NEG-form in Middle Korean was the short NEG. Perhaps, one of the reasons why the short NEG was the unmarked NEG-form in Middle Korean can be explained in terms of the influence of the NEG-form of Chinese (NEG + NP) on that of Korean. After Han-gul 'The Written Korean language' (i.e. an alphabet for writing the Korean language) was first developed in 1443 by King Sejong, it was not used by the general populace and was even considered a language of women until the 19th century. In particular, most formal written works were written in Chinese until the 19th century.

often used in everyday life that they can be considered nativized. Therefore, they behave as Korean native verbs in their syntactic distribution: they can tolerate the short form of negation.<sup>4</sup>

Finally, Sino-Korean verbs which are not used in everyday life cannot take the short form of negation: they can only take the long form. Those verbs are used in highly formal situations such as in court, wedding ceremonies, newspapers, and journalistic writing. For example,

- 13-a. TV sam sa-nun sipotay chongsen tupyo-il-ey chulku  
 TV three company-TOP 15th general election-day-at exit-poll  
 chosa-lul kongtong silsiha-ki-lo hapui-ha-ess-ta.  
 investigation-OM together do-NM-as agreement-do-PST-DCL

‘Three TV companies agreed that they will investigate the exit poll together on the day of the 15th general election.’

Sentence 13-a is from Chosenilpo (Choson Newspaper) January 6, 1996. The underlined verb hapuihata ‘agree’ is a Sino-Korean verb. As expected, since it is formal in usage, it cannot take the short NEG:

- 13-b. \*TV sam sa-nun sipotay chongsen tupyo-il-ey chulku  
 TV three company-TOP 5th general election-day-at exit-poll  
 chosa-lul kongtong silsiha-ki-lo an-hapui-ha-ess-ta.  
 investigation-OM together do-NM-as NEG-agreement-do-PST-DCL

<sup>4</sup> In particular, this preference is found in the language of children. Korean children in the US even prefer the short NEG in negating English predicates.

Emma an-happy-hay-yo?  
 Mom, NEG-happy-do-INT  
 ‘Mom, aren’t you happy?’

‘Three TV companies did not agree that they will investigate the exit poll together on the day of the 15th general election.’

On the other hand, Sino-Korean verbs used in informal situations can take the short NEG:

- 14-a. Ney-emma-nun      cikum pikon-ha-ta.  
       your-mother-TOP   now   tiredness-do-DCL  
       ‘Your mother is exhausted now.’
- 14-b. Ney-emma-nun      cikum an-pikon-ha-ta.  
       your-mother-TOP   now   NEG-tiredness-do-DCL  
       ‘Your mother is not exhausted now.’

The predicate pikonhata ‘be tired’ in sentences 14-a and 14-b is a Sino-Korean verb. Sentences 13 and 14 show that the more formal the Sino-Korean verbs are in their usage, the less acceptable they are when used with the short NEG. Conversely, Sino-Korean verbs that are fully nativized can be used in informal situations as well as formal ones. This supports that the degree of nativization of Chinese verbs in Korean contributes to the degree of acceptability in their co-occurrence with the short NEG.<sup>5</sup>

In addition to the derivational history and formal vs. informal usage, there are also syntactic reasons why the short NEG is not allowed to negate Sino-Korean verbs. As discussed before, the structure of the Sino-Korean verb is a combination of ‘noun + verb’ (i.e. Sino-Korean noun + hata ‘do’). Since the configuration ‘NEG + NP’ is not

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<sup>5</sup> It is generally true that nativization of foreign words results from frequent use in spoken language. Nativization sometimes is accompanied by the adoption of grammatical structure of the native language. For example, in English, the word data is from Latin. It seems to be in the process of nativization. It is originally plural in number. However, nowadays it is used as either plural or singular in number. Furthermore, sometimes people use datas as the plural of data: the English grammatical structure of the plural morpheme ‘-(e)s’ is used for the Latin word data.

allowed in Korean, the Sino-Korean verbs are not favored for negation by the short NEG as it would result in the configuration ‘NEG + NP + hata ‘do.’’ Another reason is that the Sino-Korean noun in the Sino-Korean verb can be easily separated from the verb stem and this separated noun becomes an object of the verb hata ‘do.’ For example, the particle lul or nun can be interposed between the noun and the verb hata ‘do.’

- 15-a. Jim-un mayil kongpu-ha-n-ta.  
 Jim-TOP everyday study-do-PRS-DCL  
 ‘Jim studies everyday.’
- 15-b. Jim-un mayil kongpu-lul ha-n-ta. (lul interposition)  
 Jim-TOP everyday study-OM do-PRS-DCL  
 ‘Jim studies everyday.’
- 15-c. Jim-un mayil kongpu-nun ha-n-ta. (nun interposition)  
 Jim-TOP everyday study-TOP do-PRS-DCL  
 ‘Jim studies everyday.’ (it is study that he does everyday)

In these constructions, the particle lul or nun interposed between the Sino-Korean noun and the verb hata ‘do’ blocks the application of the short NEG to the Sino-Korean verb since the Sino-Korean noun in the complex verb has now become an object of the verb hata ‘do’ in the construction and it is no longer considered a part of the verb stem:

- 16-a. \*Jim-un mayil an-kongpu-lul ha-n-ta. (short NEG).  
 Jim-TOP everyday NEG-study-OM do-PRS-DCL  
 ‘Jim does not study everyday.’
- 16-b. \*Jim-un mayil an-kongpu-nun ha-n-ta. (short NEG)  
 Jim-TOP everyday NEG-study-TOP do-PRS-DCL  
 ‘Jim does not study everyday.’ (it is study that he does not do everyday.)

There are, however, some complications that might serve as a counter-example to the above argument. For example, both NEG-forms can apply to the above Sino-Korean verb in a different manner. In this case, the NEG-morpheme an is attached to the verb hata 'do' instead of to the Sino-Korean verb as a whole. For example,

- 17-a. Jim-un mayil kongpu-lul an-ha-n-ta. (short NEG)  
 Jim-TOP everyday study-OM NEG-do-PRS-DCL  
 'Jim does not study everyday.'
- 17-b. Jim-un mayil kongpu-lul ha-ci-an-nun-ta. (long NEG)  
 Jim-TOP everyday study-OM do-NM-NEG-PRS-DCL  
 'Jim does not study everyday.'
- 17-c. Jim-un mayil kongpu-nun an-ha-n-ta. (short NEG)  
 Jim-TOP everyday study-TOP NEG-do-PRS-DCL  
 'Jim does studies everyday.' (it is studying that he does not do everyday.)
- 17-d. Jim-un mayil kongpu-nun ha-ci-an-nun-ta. (long NEG)  
 Jim-TOP everyday study-TOP do-NM-NEG-PRS-DCL  
 'Jim studies everyday.' (it is studying that he does not do everyday.)

In fact, the NEG-morpheme an in 17 does not negate the Sino-Korean verb; it negates the verb hata 'do.' This claim is corroborated by a related fact. In Korean, one accusative nominal of the double-accusative construction is derived by the interposition of the particle lul or nun to a simple accusative construction.<sup>6</sup>

- 18-a. Younghee-nun piano-lul yunsub-hanta. (simple accusative construction)  
 Younghee-TOP piano-OM practice-do  
 'Younghee practices playing the piano.'

<sup>6</sup> The double-accusative construction as in 18-b becomes a simple accusative construction as in 18-a through noun incorporation. In her research, Kim-Renaud (1974) claims that the Sino-Korean denominal verbs in a noun incorporated form allow preposed negation (short NEG) more easily than non-Sino-Korean verbs. This noun incorporation in Sino-Korean verbs seems to be one of the processes which show the nativization of the Sino-Korean words in Korean.

- 18-b. Younghee-nun piano-lul yunsub-ul hanta. (double-accusative construction)  
 Younghee-TOP piano-OM practice-OM-do  
 'Younghee practices playing the piano.'

In the double-accusative construction, both NEG-forms apply only to the verb hata 'do' as in 19 below.

- 19-a. Younghee-nun piano-lul yunsub-ul an-hanta. (short NEG)  
 Younghee-TOP piano-OM practice-OM NEG-do  
 'Younghee does not practice playing the piano.'
- 19-b. Younghee-nun piano-lul yunsub-ul ha-ci-an-nun-ta. (long NEG)  
 Younghee-TOP piano-OM practice-OM do-NM-NEG-PRS-DCL  
 'Younghee does not practice playing the piano.'

In sum, sentences in 1-19 show that the distribution of NEG-forms depends not only on the types of predicates in which they occur, but also on the origin of the verb in the predicate (i.e. Korean native vs. Sino-Korean). It is also shown that while Sino-Korean verbs in general do not take the short NEG, some of them may tolerate the short form, if they are considered nativized through frequent use in everyday life. It follows then that the degree of the acceptability/grammaticality of the short NEG with Sino-Korean verbs depends on their degree of nativization.

### 3.2.2 A New Typological Analysis of the Two Forms of Negation: Lexical vs. Syntactic

In the preceding section, the distribution of NEG-forms in Korean is described as depending on the types of predicates they occur in and the origin of verbs they occur with. In this section, the typological nature of negation in Korean will be examined. This will provide additional reasons for its distribution. The problem Korean linguists

have been faced with in their analysis of the two forms of negation stems from the belief that Korean should have both forms of negation for any given affirmative sentence without prejudice or bias against any structure. Cho (1975), for example, claims that both NEG-forms are verbal in nature, though one is pre-verbal (short NEG) and the other post-verbal (long NEG). He states (1975: 78):

Unlike most other languages, Korean has two ways of verbal negation: pre-verbal and post-verbal. Post-verbal negation applies to all sentences, but pre-verbal negation is defective in that it cannot apply to all imperative and propositive [sic] sentences and some declarative and interrogative sentences with certain verbs.

While he is correct in his observation, his expectation that both forms will apply to all structures is obvious in the choice of the wording 'defective.' Furthermore, by designating them both as verbal negation, he does not notice that there are structural differences between the two NEG-forms. As a result, his description does not provide any insight into why there are such distributional differences. But, then, what are the syntactic differences between the two forms of negation that may lead to an explanation for the distributional differences?

It has been recognized in linguistics that in general, there are two kinds of negation: lexical and syntactic. Both forms of negation are found in English:

20-a. He is not honest. (Syntactic negation)

20-b. He is dishonest. (Lexical negation)

If we look carefully, it is not hard to find that the two forms of negation in Korean seem to parallel the NEG-forms in 20 in several ways. The short NEG behaves like the lexical coding and the long NEG, like the syntactic coding. Let us first examine



their syntactic behavior. Lexical and syntactic codings of negation, as in 20, differ from each other in their degree of productivity. Syntactic negation is fully productive in the sense that it applies to all verbs. Lexical negation, however, is not productive and does not apply to all verbs or adjectives. For instance, English has such lexically negated adjectives as dishonest, incompetent, untruthful, and impossible, but it does not have such negated adjectives as \*dis/un-good, \*dis-simple. The reason why English does not have such adjectives like \*dis/un-simple, \*dis/un-good is that English has antonyms for their negative meanings such as complex, bad. As far as productivity is concerned, the long form of negation in Korean closely resembles syntactic negation, as it can negate all predicates. It can, therefore, be easily considered syntactic negation. By the same token, the short NEG can be considered lexical negation, since it is defective in the sense that it cannot negate all predicates.<sup>7</sup> In addition, there is further evidence that the Korean short NEG is lexical in nature. In terms of the position of the NEG-morpheme, the short NEG is exactly like the lexical negation of Sino-Korean words: the NEG-morpheme is prefixed to what it negates. Sino-Korean words are usually negated lexically through the prefixation of a Chinese NEG-morpheme to the Sino-Korean noun like pi-hyunsilcek 'unreal,' pul-iik 'disadvantage.' This is because the Sino-Korean words were borrowed with their corresponding NEG-morphemes.

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<sup>7</sup> Renaud (1974: 18) also says that "while Type I (i.e. short NEG) is much less productive than Type II (i.e. long NEG) and evokes a variable reaction from different native speakers, almost [sic] any sentence can be negated by Type II."

Compare the short NEG in 21-a with the lexically negated Sino-Korean adjective in 21-

b.

21-a. Cikum cha-lul sanunkes-un an-co-ta. (short NEG)  
 now car-OM buying-TOP NEG-good-DCL  
 'It is not good to buy a car now.'

21-b. Cikum cha-lul sanunkes-un pi-hyunsilcek-ita. (lexical NEG)  
 now car-OM buying-TOP NEG-real-DCL  
 'It is unreasonable to buy a car now.'

As seen in 21-a and 21-b, the lexical negation of the Sino-Korean adjectives occupies the same position as the short NEG.

A third piece of evidence is that the short NEG is never used in an imperative construction, just as a lexical negation is not used in an imperative sentence in Korean.

22-a. Ka-ci ma. (syntactic negation)  
 go NM don't  
 'Don't go.'

22-b. \*An -ga. (lexical negation)  
 un/not go  
 'Don't go.'

From the evidence above, one can easily argue that the two forms of negation are not really as unique to Korean as Korean linguistics has assumed. The two forms of negation can be comfortably assigned to the two universal types of negation: the short NEG is lexical and the long NEG is syntactic. Once this assignment is accepted, some implications follow naturally: (a) as a lexical negation, the short NEG should not be expected to apply to all predicates, which predicts its defective nature, and (b) the semantic interpretation of the short NEG may be different from that of the long NEG.

The next section will discuss the semantic differences between the two forms of negation.

### 3.3 Two Forms of Negation in Discourse

In section 3.2.2, we have shown that the long NEG is actually a syntactic negation and the short NEG, a lexical one. In this section, we will distinguish between the two NEG-forms semantically. In addition, we will address the problem of grammaticality/acceptability of the two forms. Strangely enough, it is not always possible, even for native speakers, to judge the grammaticality/acceptability of some Korean negative sentences or to tell the meaning difference between the two forms of negation in isolated sentences. In many cases, they just say, “I’ve heard people use it, but I don’t know whether it is correct or not” or “I cannot find any difference in meaning between them.” Such facts are recognized by linguists in the field, though reluctantly. For example, Kuno (1980: 162) remarks that in Korean, for some speakers, the two forms of Korean negation are synonymous, but other speakers feel that they are semantically distinct:

In fact, there are speakers, especially among the younger generation, who seem to be using the two forms interchangeably. However, there are speakers who draw a subtle distinction between the two forms. For these speakers, the form which has the negative morpheme before the verb is a verb negation, while the form which has the negative morpheme after the verb is a sentence negation.

Anyway, the best way to investigate the differences between these two forms of negation seems to be: (a) to examine the choices and distributions of the two forms of

negation, (b) to find out what pragmatic/semantic differences there may be between them in discourse, (c) to examine what makes the speaker choose one form over the other, and (d) finally, to find out what plays an important role in explaining the grammaticality/acceptability of NEG-forms in Korean.

### 3.3.1 Surveys on the Choice of NEG-Forms: the Semantic/Pragmatic Distinctions

Recall that in section 2.2.5, it was pointed out that the short form of negation is much simpler, both structurally and phonologically, than the long one. On the basis of structural simplicity, McClanahan (1991) suggests that the “principle of least effort” explains the choice between the two forms: people would choose the short form of negation more often than the long form of negation. In order to prove the validity of the principle of least effort, we did a survey by giving a questionnaire to 57 Korean native speakers. The native speakers were divided into two groups to see whether age is a factor in the choice. Group A consisted of 22 speakers aged 13 years or younger; Group B, 35 speakers aged 20 years or older. In our questionnaire, two affirmative sentences were given: one had a predicate with a Korean verb and the other had a predicate with a Sino-Korean verb. The subjects were asked to choose the preferred form of negation for each affirmative sentence. The affirmative and negative sentences used in the questionnaire are given below:

#### A. Sentence with a Korean predicate

23. Younghee-nun yeppu-ta.  
 Younghee-TOP pretty-is  
 ‘Younghee is pretty.’

## 1) Long form of negation

Younghee-nun yepu-ci an-ta.  
 Younghee-TOP pretty-NM-NEG-is  
 'Younghee is not pretty.'

## 2) Short form of negation

Younghee-nun an-yepu-ta.  
 Younghee-TOP NEG-pretty-is  
 'Younghee is not pretty.'

## B. Sentence with a predicate derived from Chinese noun

24. Younghee-nun sengsil-hata.  
 Younghee-TOP honesty-do  
 'Younghee is honest.'

## 1) Long form of negation

Younghee-nun sengsil-ha-ci-an-ta.  
 Younghee-TOP honesty-do-NM-NEG-is  
 'Younghee is not honest.'

## 2) Short form of negation with a Korean NEG- morpheme

Younghee-nun an-sengsil-hata.  
 Younghee-TOP NEG-honesty-do  
 'Younghee is dishonest.'

## 3) Short form of negation with a Chinese NEG-morpheme

Younghee-nun pul-sengsil-hata.  
 Younghee-TOP NEG-honesty-do  
 'Younghee is dishonest.'

Note that for the affirmative sentence in 23, there is only one form for each of the long and short NEG. But for the affirmative sentence in 24, there are two different NEG-

morphemes that can be used in the short NEG: an in 24-2 and bul in 24-3. The latter is from Chinese.

The responses of the preferred NEG-form for the corresponding affirmative sentences by each group are summarized in Tables 4, 5 and 6:

Table 4. Numbers of Responses to the Predicate with a Korean verb

<i>Group</i>	<i>long NEG</i>	<i>short NEG</i>
A (N=22)	5 (23%)	17 (77%)
B (N=35)	10 (29%)	25 (71%)
Total (N=57)	15 (26%)	42 (74%)

P-value = 0.626

Table 4 shows the numbers of responses to the predicate with a Korean verb. It shows that the short NEG is generally preferred over the long NEG (74% for the short NEG and 26% for the long NEG). However, there is no significant difference in the choice of a NEG-form between group A and B (P-value = 0.626), although a slightly higher percentage of the younger group chose the short NEG.

Table 5. Numbers of Responses to the Predicate with a Sino-Korean verb

<i>Group</i>	<i>long NEG</i>	<i>short NEG with the Korean NEG-morpheme <u>an</u></i>	<i>short NEG with the Chinese NEG-morpheme <u>put</u></i>
A (N=22)	6 (27%)	15 (68%)	1 (5%)
B (N=35)	15 (43%)	3 (9%)	17 (48%)
Total (N=57)	21 (36%)	18 (32%)	18 (32%)

P-value = 0.000

Table 5 shows the numbers of responses to the predicate with a verb derived from a Chinese noun. When two groups are considered together, no general preference can

be detected, even though the long NEG (36%) is slightly favored over each of the other two (32%). However, there is a significant difference in the choice of a NEG-form between the two groups ( $P$ -value = 0.000). The responses differ greatly between the two groups. Fifteen of the younger speakers (68%) preferred the short NEG with the Korean NEG-morpheme an, while 6 younger speakers (27%) preferred the long NEG, and 1 younger speaker (5%) preferred the short NEG with the Chinese NEG-morpheme bul. The older speakers responded very differently. Only 3 of them chose the short NEG with the Korean NEG-morpheme an, while 15 (43%) and 17 (48%) of them chose the long NEG and the short NEG with the Chinese NEG-morpheme pul, respectively.<sup>8</sup> If the Korean and Chinese NEG-morphemes are combined, the result is as follows in Table 6:

Table 6. Responses to the Predicate with a Chinese Noun (short NEG vs. long NEG)

Group	Long NEG (R1)	Short NEG (R2 + R3)
A (N=22)	6 (27%)	16 (73%)
B (N=35)	15 (43%)	20 (57%)
Total	21 (37%)	36 (63%)

$P$ -value = 0.235

Table 6 shows that in general, both children and adults preferred the short NEG (63%: 36 out of 57) over the long one (37%: 21 out of 57). There is a slightly significant difference in the choice of a NEG-form between children and adults ( $P$ -value = 0.235).

<sup>8</sup> Later, when I asked Group B to choose between the Korean and Chinese NEG-morpheme, most of them (33 out of 35) chose the Chinese NEG-morpheme. Their explanation was that the one with Chinese NEG-morpheme sounds not only educated, but also formal.

Park (1982: 21) notes that Korean children acquire the simple negation (short NEG) earlier than the complex negation (long NEG). The early acquisition of the short NEG by children seems to be one of the factors affecting their preference for the short NEG.

As we have seen, the survey figures can be analyzed in several different ways. Responses may be considered all together, or they may be considered separately on the basis of the age of the respondents, the kind of verb in the predicate, and the kind of NEG-morpheme used in the NEG-form. The results of the analyses, however, consistently show that the short NEG was chosen much more often than the long NEG. It thus seems that the results of our survey support McClanahan's claim that the principle of least effort may explain the distribution of usage of the short and long forms. Another claim that McClanahan makes is that the short NEG is used in informal situations, while the long NEG is used in formal situations. However, he does not provide reasonable evidence for his argument. He (1991: 169) only says that "the least effort principle offers a straightforward explanation for a speaker's preference for Short NEG in casual conversational settings and for the fact that Long NEG is used almost exclusively in written forms and formal speeches." When everything is taken into consideration, it is difficult to draw such a direct relationship between the stylistic distinction (formal vs. informal) and the least effort principle. At this point, the stylistic distinction has to remain unresolved. On the other hand, there seem to be other pragmatic/semantic factors involved in choosing an appropriate NEG-



form. One of them is the degree of strength in negation. Givon (1984:343) discusses this point in some detail:

- |                                   |                   |
|-----------------------------------|-------------------|
| 25-a. I think she's mad.          | (strongest claim) |
| 25-b. I think she's unhappy.      |                   |
| 25-c. I think she's not happy.    | ↑                 |
| 25-d. I think she isn't happy.    |                   |
| 25-e. I doubt she's happy.        | ↓                 |
| 25-f. I do not think she's happy. |                   |
| 25-g. I don't think she's happy.  | (weakest claim)   |

He claims that in English the lexical negation as in 25-b expresses a stronger assertion of the event than the syntactic negation as in 25-c. I have argued that the short form of negation is lexical in nature, while the long form of negation is syntactic. The new categorization of the two forms of negation suggests that, as in English, the short form of negation, being a lexical negation, would be used to deny an asserted claim more strongly than the long one. In other words, the choice between short and long forms of negation depends on the strength of denial against the asserted information. To investigate this hypothesis about the strength of denial, another questionnaire was given to the same 57 Korean native speakers. In this questionnaire, two types of questions were given. One is a normal question. The other is what I would call a confirmation question, since the speaker seeks for confirmation by the use of this type of question. They were given to gauge the strength of negation of each of the two NEG-forms: long and short. The subjects were asked to choose the preferred NEG-form for each type of question. The use of the normal and confirmation questions is justified below.

A normal question is used when both the speaker and hearer share some background information about the event and the speaker just asks a question about it. On the other hand, a confirmation question is used under the assumption that the speaker strongly believes that his presupposed assertion is true, but just wants to confirm his/her belief. For example, suppose that Mary's birthday party was held yesterday. Tom was there, but Bob was not. Bob wants to know whether Younghee went there or not. Two kinds of questions can be used to get information about Younghee's presence at the party, depending on Bob's assumption. One is the case where Bob does not have any idea whether Younghee went there. In that case, a normal question is used to get this information. The other is the case where Bob believes that Younghee would be there (since someone told him that she would be there), and he just wants to confirm his assumption. In this case, a confirmation question is used.<sup>9</sup> It is thus reasonable to assume that, given its strength, a confirmation question should be more strongly associated with the short NEG, while the normal question, with the long NEG.

The normal and tag questions used in the questionnaire are shown below with their possible choices of NEG-forms:

#### A. Normal Question

26. Q: Younghee-ka pati-ey ka-ess-ni? (Normal Question)  
 Younghee-SM party-to go-PST-INT  
 'Did Younghee go to the party?'

---

<sup>9</sup> A confirmation question in Korean performs the same function as the tag question with falling intonation in English, since it always expects to get confirmation of what has been said.

R1: Ani, Younghee-ka pati-ey ka-ci an-ess-o. (long NEG)  
 No Younghee-SM party-to go-NM NEG-PST-DCL  
 'No, Younghee did not go to the party.'

R2: Ani, Younghee-ka pati-ey an-ka-ess-o. (short NEG)  
 No Younghee-SM party-to NEG-go-PST-DCL  
 'No, Younghee did not go to the party.'

#### B. Confirmation Question

27. Q: Younghee-ka pati-ey ka-ess-ci?  
 Younghee-SM party-to go-PST-INT (Tag Question)  
 'Younghee went to the party, right?'

R1: Ani, Younghee-ka pati-ey ka-ci an-ess-o. (long NEG)  
 No Younghee-SM party-to go-NM NEG-PST-DCL  
 'No, Younghee did not go to the party.'

R2: Ani, Younghee-ka pati-ey an-ka-ess-o. (short NEG)  
 No Younghee-SM party-to NEG-go-PST-DCL  
 'No, Younghee did not go to the party.'

The numbers of responses to each type of question are shown in Tables 7 and 8:

Table 7. Numbers of Responses to the Normal and Confirmation Question: Group A

<i>Type of Question</i>	<i>long NEG</i>	<i>Short NEG</i>
Normal Question	6 (27%)	16 (73%)
Confirmation Question	2 (9%)	20 (91%)

P-value = 0.118

Table 8. Numbers of Responses to the Normal and Confirmation Question: Group B

<i>Type of Question</i>	<i>long NEG</i>	<i>Short NEG</i>
Normal Question	13 (37%)	22 (63%)
Confirmation Question	4 (11%)	31 (89%)

P-value = 0.012

Tables 7 and 8 show the subjects' responses to the normal and confirmation questions. There is a significant difference in the responses of both groups with regard to the choice of a NEG-form between the normal and confirmation questions, even though the significant level is different from each other. The two tables show that the short NEG is closely associated with the NEG-response to the confirmation question, even though it is preferred regardless of the type of question. That is, there are some differences in the responses to the normal and confirmation questions (Table 8). In the case of the normal question, the short form (63%) is preferred over the long one (37%) by a 2: 1 ratio. On the other hand, in the case of the confirmation question, the short form (89%) is overwhelmingly preferred over the long one (11%) by a ratio of 8: 1.

The results of the questionnaire suggest that there is some regularity in the choice of a NEG-form. That is, the short NEG is used more often as a negative answer to a confirmation question than to a normal question, in order to deny a presupposed assertion more strongly. As we said above, a normal question is a neutral information-seeking speech act---neutral in the sense that the speaker is not biased with respect to the polarity of the answer. But a confirmation question is a speech act that seeks agreement with the asserted proposition. Therefore, it is natural that if the asserted event in question is not true, the hearer responds to the question with a very strong negation. In Korean, this is more often done by the short NEG than by the long NEG. The results of the survey seem to confirm that the short NEG is generally a stronger negation than the long NEG.

### 3.3.2 NEG-Forms in Neutral and Contrastive Environments

Givón (1984) claims that in English ‘dative shift’ involves a change in the ‘relative topicality’ of the patient and the recipient argument. Thompson (1988) also claims that in English recipients outrank patients in topic-worthiness and, as a group, recipients in post-verbal position outrank those in end position in topic-worthiness. They both point out that grammatical regularities such as the above can be explained on the basis of extra-grammatical patterns, that is, the way speakers manage their informational flow. The same seems true for the choice of NEG-forms in Korean. We have claimed that there are some semantic or pragmatic differences between the two forms of negation, even though people sometimes use them interchangeably. A natural question is then: why do people use these two forms of negation interchangeably so often, despite the semantic or pragmatic differences between them? To answer the question, we will try to find out: (a) when people use the two forms of negation interchangeably and when they do not?, and (b) what factors are involved in the choice of one form over the other. We will see that this grammatical regularity of choosing a NEG-form is actually governed by an extra-grammatical force of contrastive focus.

#### 3.3.2.1 Choice of NEG-forms

In everyday conversation, people often seem to use the two forms of negation interchangeably without paying much attention to the slight semantic/pragmatic difference between them. This may be said to happen in a “neutral environment.” A

neutral environment provides a context where the negated clause does not have its corresponding affirmative proposition assumed in the sentence. That is, in the environment, the negation is not used to deny an assumed proposition. One such neutral environment is found in story telling. The story teller generally does not distinguish between the two forms of negation in their language. The following passage is taken from a Korean fairy tale, The Wood-Cutter and the Fairy:

- 28-a. Namutkun-un    senyu-ka kaki-lul    tena-ci an-ki                    parayss-ki  
       wood-cutter-TOP fairy-SM self-OM    leave-NM-NEG-NM wanted-NM  
       taymune ot-ul                    kamchessta.  
       because clothes-OM    hid.

‘Since the wood-cutter did not want the fairy to leave him, he hid the fairy’s clothes.’

In the above, we find the use of the long NEG tenaci-an-ta ‘don’t leave’ in a neutral environment. Since the writer (speaker) is just narrating an event, the negation does not involve an assumed corresponding affirmative proposition and there is no need to insist on one form over the other. Therefore, we can assume that in the neutral environment the long NEG can generally be replaced by the short NEG:

- 28-b. Namutkun-un    senyu-ka kaki-lul    an-tena-ki                    parayss-ki  
       wood-cutter-TOP fairy-SM self-OM    NEG-leave-NM    wanted-NM  
       taymune ot-ul                    kamchessta.  
       because clothe-OM    hid

‘Since the wood-cutter did not want the fairy to leave him, he hid the fairy’s clothes.’

In general, a neutral environment, as in 28-a and 28-b, provides no motivation for making semantic or pragmatic distinctions between the two forms of negation. Either of the two forms of negation, therefore, can be used.

On the other hand, there are situations where people do want to make some semantic/pragmatic distinctions and choose the appropriate one. Such situations are characterized by what I would call a “contrastive environment.” In a contrastive environment, the NEG-clause has its corresponding affirmative proposition in the sentence. The following are examples for a NEG-form in the contrastive environment:

29-a. Younghee-ya, ne sukce ha-ess-ni, an-ha-ess-ni?  
 Younghee-VOC you homework do-PST-INT NEG-do-PST-INT  
 ‘Younghee, did you do your homework or not?’

30-a. Younghee-ya, neui sensayngnim kkatarob-ni, an-kkatarob-ni?  
 Younghee-VOC your teacher finicky-INT NEG-finicky-INT  
 ‘Younghee, is your teacher finicky or not?’

Note that in the above, there is a contrast between ha-ess ‘did’ and an-ha-ess ‘did not’ in 29-a and kkatarob ‘finicky’ and an-kkatarob ‘not finicky’ in 30-a. And the short NEG is used in both. The long NEG might be used in this contrastive environment, as in 29-b and 30-b below:

29-b. Younghee-ya, ne sukce ha-ess-ni, ha-ci an-ess-ni?  
 Younghee-VOC you homework do-PST-INT do-NM NEG-PST-INT  
 ‘Younghee, did you do your homework or not?’

30-b. Younghee-ya, neui sensayngnim kkatarob-ni, kkatarob-ci an-ni?  
 Younghee-VOC your teacher finicky-INT finicky-NM NEG-INT  
 ‘Younghee, is your teacher finicky or not?’

While 29-b and 30-b may not be judged as ungrammatical or unacceptable, their occurrence is extremely rare. This also suggests that the short NEG is a more appropriate NEG-form in the contrastive environment.

In the above, two assumptions are made with regard to the use of NEG-form in Korean: both forms of negation are interchangeable in a neutral environment, while the short NEG is the more appropriate NEG-form in a contrastive environment. In an attempt to validate the assumptions made above, another questionnaire was given to 24 Korean adults. In this questionnaire, sentences 28 - 30 are presented to the subjects, but the underlined portion in each sentence is replaced by a blank to be filled. The subjects were asked to fill in the blank with an appropriate NEG-form. The results are shown in Table 9:

Table 9. Responses of the Preferred NEG-Form in Neutral and Contrastive Environments

<i>Environment</i>		<i>Short NEG</i>	<i>Long NEG</i>
Neutral	Sentence (28)	10 (42%)	14 (58%)
Contrastive:	Sentence (29)	24 (100%)	0 (0%)
	Sentence (30)	21 (91%)	3 (9%)

P-value = 0.000

Table 9 shows that there is a significant difference in the preferred NEG-form between the neutral and the contrastive environments (P-value = 0.000). In the neutral environment, there is little difference in the preference for the NEG-forms: 42% for the short NEG and 58% for the long NEG. This suggests that they are indeed almost interchangeable in the neutral environment. In the contrastive environment, however,



there is a significant difference in the preference for NEG-forms: 94% for the short NEG and 6% for the long NEG on the average. This confirms the observation that the short NEG is overwhelmingly preferred in a contrastive environment. Although there is a slight difference in the percentage of the preference between the predicates ha 'do' and kkatarobta 'be finicky,' it is negligible.<sup>10</sup>

The results of the questionnaire strongly support the assumptions that both forms of negation can be used in the neutral environment, but the short NEG is the preferred NEG-form in a contrastive environment. In other words, the short NEG is a significantly more appropriate NEG-form in a contrastive environment, even though the long NEG is also tolerable. Then, the question arises: why is the short NEG more appropriate than the long NEG in a contrastive environment? I turn to that question now.

### 3.3.2.2 Why the short NEG in a "contrastive environment"?

In the above, it was shown that the short NEG is a preferred form in a contrastive environment. The next question is: why people prefer the short NEG over the long NEG in this contrastive environment? I believe that this is because the short NEG is the significantly more effective device for contrastive focus than long NEG in Korean. Huck and Na (1990: 57) define 'contrastive focus' as follows:

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<sup>10</sup> The results here challenge Kim-Renaud's claim (1974) that the long NEG is preferred over the short NEG in the case of stative predicates with more than three syllables. The predicate katarop-ta 'be finicky' is a three-syllable predicate, but the short NEG is preferred in the contrastive environment. This suggests that his claim does not apply to the preferred NEG-form in the contrastive environment.

If the interpretations of two propositions are identical except for some proper subpart of them, then the constituent whose interpretation in the second proposition constitutes the locus of difference may be a (contrastive) focus.

According to the definition, the Korean sentences in 29-a and 30-a, which have been designated as providing a contrastive environment, have a contrastive focus on the negation itself since the negative proposition is identical to the affirmative proposition except for the negation. Sentence 29-a and 29-b are given below as 31-a and 31-b for the comparison between the long and the short NEG.

- 31-a. Younghee-ya, ne sukce ha-ess-ni, an-ha-ess-ni? (short NEG)  
 Younghee-VOC, you homework do-PST-INT NEG-do-PST-INT  
 'Younghee, did you do your homework or not?'  
 31-b. Younghee-ya, ne sukce ha-ess-ni, ha-ci an-ess-ni? (long NEG)  
 Younghee-VOC, you homework do-PST-INT do-NM NEG-PST-INT  
 'Younghee, did you do your homework or not?'

As shown above, the negative constituent an-ha-ess 'not do-PST' with the short NEG in 31-a is exactly same as its corresponding affirmative constituent ha-ess 'do-PST' along with the NEG-morpheme an. On the other hand, the negative constituent ha-ci-an-ess 'not-NM-NEG-PST' with the long NEG in 31-b has an additional morpheme ci (nominalizer) in addition to the NEG-morpheme an. In other words, the short NEG expresses a contrastive focus in accordance with the above definition, but the long NEG does not.<sup>11</sup> This explains why in a contrastive environment, the short NEG is overwhelmingly preferred over the long NEG. I believe that this is how Korean speakers organize their information flow. In a contrastive environment, they choose

<sup>11</sup> In addition, the short NEG is also simpler or easier, compared with its affirmative counterpart in terms of both phonological and syntactic status.

an appropriate NEG-form, the short NEG, to indicate whether there is an informational focus and where it is. This is because the short NEG is a specialized NEG-form for marking a contrast.

A similar question structure may serve as further illustration.

- 32-a. Ne tampay pi-ess-ci, kuray, an-kuray?  
 you cigarette smoked right NEG-right  
 'You did smoke a cigar, yes or no?'
- 32-b. ?Ne tampay pi-ess-ci, kuray, kuress-ci-an-a?  
 you cigarette smoked right right-NM-NEG-INT  
 'You did smoke a cigar, yes or no?'

Although sentence 32-b with the long NEG is not judged as totally unacceptable or ungrammatical, it is rarely used under any circumstances.

There is another piece of evidence for the hypothesis that the short NEG functions to mark contrast. As we noted earlier in section 3.2.1, Sino-Korean verbs are negated by Chinese NEG-morphemes, which were borrowed along with the verbs. They are not allowed to be negated by the short NEG with the Korean NEG-morpheme an.

- 33-a. Ku-nun cekkukcek-ita.  
 He-TOP active-is  
 'He is active.'
- 33-b. Ku-nun pi-cekkukcek-ita. (pi---Chinese NEG-morpheme)  
 He-TOP NEG-active-is  
 'He is not active.'
- 33-c. \*Ku-nun an-cekkukcek-ita. (an---native NEG-morpheme)  
 He-TOP NEG-active-is  
 'He is not active.'

Sentence 33-c is ungrammatical since the Sino-Korean word is negated by the Korean negative morpheme an. However, Sino-Korean words can be negated by the Korean negative morpheme an, where there is a contrastive focus on the NEG-morpheme:

34-a. Ku-ka cekkukcek-in-ci, pi-cekukcek-in-ci morun-ta. (Chinese NEG-morpheme)  
He-SM active-PRS-NM NEG-active-PRS-NM don't know-DCL  
'I don't know whether he is active or not?'

34-b. Ku-ka cekkukcek-in-ci, an-cekukcek-in-ci morun-ta. (Korean NEG-morpheme)  
He-SM active-PRS-NM NEG-active-PRS-NM don't know-DCL  
'I don't know whether he is active or not?'

As in 34-b, in spite of the fact that Korean grammar prohibits its use with Sino-Korean words, the Korean negative morpheme an often replaces the Chinese NEG-morpheme. This replacement is possible only because of the presence of the focus on the NEG-morpheme. This case argues strongly for the short NEG as a device for contrastive focus.<sup>12</sup>

In sum, the examples 29 - 34 discussed above show that in a contrastive environment where the NEG-clause has its corresponding affirmative counterpart in the sentence, the speaker usually chooses the short NEG just because the form is most capable of explicitly marking the contrast. All of the examples serve to explain why the short NEG is the most appropriate in a contrastive environment.

<sup>12</sup> In section 3.2.1, we have shown that some Sino-Korean words can tolerate the short NEG with the Korean NEG-morpheme an through everyday use. In the present case of sentence 34-b, the Sino-Korean word tolerates the short NEG for contrastive focus. Though for different reasons, both cases are instances where the Korean NEG-morpheme an is competing to replace Chinese NEG-morphemes such as pul, pi, mu. It seems that the Korean NEG-morpheme is winning the battle.

### 3.3.3 Grammatical Judgment of Negation: the Inadequacy of Structural Constraint

It has been claimed in discourse grammar that the grammaticality judgment of a sentence may lose its validity when it is made only from a structural point of view, disregarding the context where the sentence may occur. For example, in English there is a general restriction against extraposing relative clauses or prepositional phrases from definite NPs, but not from indefinite NPs (Ziv and Cole: 1974):

35-a. A guy that I met at Treno's yesterday just came in.

35-b. A guy just came in that I met at Treno's yesterday.

36-a. The guy that I met at Treno's yesterday just came in.

36-b. ??The guy just came in that I met at Treno's yesterday.

Traditionally, this constraint is explained in terms of formal configurations (Gueron & May: 1984).<sup>13</sup> However, Huck and Na (1990) claim that even though there is a general constraint against extraposing from definite NPs, it is sometimes possible to do so, especially when the extraposed clause is focused. For example, if speaker A has been discussing two fellows whom he expects to walk into the room, and if he met one of them at Treno's yesterday and the other at Andrea's, and if one of these two fellows now walks into the room, the A could appropriately utter sentence 36-b. This means that sentences like 36-b are acceptable when the extraposed relative clause contains stress and is appropriately interpreted as contrastive focus, but are unacceptable

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<sup>13</sup> They claim that, at the abstract level of Logical Form (LF), complements to NPs must be dominated by all the maximal projections that dominate all the NPs themselves. They also assume that there is a LF rule which moves qualified NPs, but not deictic or definite NPs, to S-adjoined position.

otherwise. As a result, they claim that the behavior of extraposition is explained better by a theory of focus than any other formal theory. All this grammaticality or acceptability judgment of a sentence is based on non-formal reasons rather than on purely formal factors.

The same seems true for the grammatical judgment of a sentence with the short NEG in Korean. The grammaticality/acceptability of the short NEG is also controlled by the presence of focus rather than by any structural constraint. In the previous section, it has been shown that the short NEG is the most appropriate form in a contrastive environment. This finding brings better insight into the explanation for the grammaticality or acceptability of the short NEG in Korean than some of the previous theories. For example, it has been generally accepted that all predicates can be negated with the long NEG, but only certain categories of predicates can be negated with the short NEG. Song (1988) proposes the so-called “Well-Formedness Condition” in an attempt to explain the grammaticality of the short NEG, and claims that descriptive verbs (DVs) with three or more syllable stem cannot be negated by the short NEG in a simple sentence. Table 10 gives verbs of one-, two- and three-syllable stems in their short NEG forms.

Table 10. Grammaticality Judgment based on Well-Formedness Condition by Song

One syllable	Two syllables	Three or more syllables
<u>an-chupta</u> 'not cold'	<u>an-pissata</u> 'not expensive'	* <u>an-alumtapta</u> 'not beautiful'
<u>an-cohta</u> 'not good'	<u>an-mukepta</u> 'not heavy'	* <u>an-hwullywunghata</u> 'not splendid'
<u>an-khuta</u> 'not big'	<u>an-telepta</u> 'not dirty'	* <u>an-chimchakhata</u> 'not calm'
<u>an-cakta</u> 'not small'	<u>an-tewupta</u> 'not warm'	* <u>an-pucirenghata</u> 'not industrious'
<u>an-palkta</u> 'not bright'	<u>an-etwupta</u> 'not dark'	* <u>an-tachaylopta</u> 'not colorful'

Under this "Well-Formedness Condition," Song is able to explain the ungrammaticality of the short NEG form in 37-b.

37-a. Ku yeca-ka alumtap-ci an-ta. (long NEG)  
 that girl-SM pretty -NM NEG-DCL  
 'That girl is not pretty.'

37-b. \*Ku yeca-ka an -alumtap -ta. (short NEG)  
 that girl-SM NEG-pretty DCL  
 'That girl is not pretty.'

Sentence 37-b is ungrammatical because the DV stem has three syllables and thus violates the structural constraint in Korean. It is true that the structural constraint plays an important role in explaining the grammaticality/acceptability of the short NEG in Korean. However, his analysis does not go beyond the level of a simple sentence. When the well-formedness condition is applied to complex sentences, it loses its explanatory ability, since there are situations where a short NEG for DVs of a stem of three or more syllables, like the one in 37-b, is considered well-formed. In fact, sentence 37-b is not ungrammatical, but it is only less appropriate than sentence 37-a in

isolation. We do find sentences like 37-b in actual usage. At this point, it is appropriate to look at the problem in complex sentences. For example, the well-formedness condition cannot explain the occurrence of the short NEG in the following sentence, where the stem of the DV consists of three syllables.

38. Ku yeca-ka alumtap-ni, an alumtap-ni?  
     that girl-SM pretty-INT NEG- pretty-INT  
     ‘Is the girl pretty or not?’

Sentence 38 is acceptable even though Song’s Well-Formedness Condition wrongly predicts that it is ungrammatical. This type of NEG-sentence occurs when the negated predicate is in contrast with its counterpart, that is, when it is focused. As discussed before, the replacement of Chinese NEG-morphemes with the Korean NEG-morpheme an in a contrastive environment also supports that the grammaticality or acceptability of the short NEG should be explained in terms of the theory of focus rather than formal factors.

In sum, we have shown that the theory of focus can give some insight into the grammatical judgment about NEG-forms in Korean. It accounts for the appropriate use of the short NEG either in predicates with more than three syllable stem or in predicates with a Sino-Korean verb, which cannot be explained by any formal factors such as the well-formedness condition. The theory of focus is more explanatory than the well-formedness condition in its ability to explain the grammaticality or acceptability of the short NEG in Korean.



### 3.4 NEG-Morphemes in Korean

In Korean, there are three NEG-morphemes: an, mot and ma(l).<sup>14</sup> Little research has been done on the distinction between them except their basic semantic characteristics: (a) an 'don't,' (b) mot 'can't,' and (c) ma(l) 'stop' as a negative imperative. A close examination of the NEG-sentences reveals that the interpretation of NEG-sentences depends not only on the NEG-morphemes themselves, but also on the verb, the tense-aspect-modality (hereafter, TAM) markings and the discourse context involved. At the same time, new interpretations of the aspect and modality for NEG-sentences also result from the addition of the NEG-morphemes an or mot. A detailed discussion of their meaning differences will be made in section 3.4.4. In addition, the distribution and interpretation of the NEG-morpheme an and mot will be explained in terms of a transitivity theory in section 3.4.5. I begin by describing the meanings and syntactic distribution of these morphemes.

#### 3.4.1 NEG-morpheme an

An 'don't' is a general NEG-morpheme in Korean. It is prefixed to a predicate, but never directly to a noun, as in English. It is used to negate predicates of either an action (hereafter, NEG-action) or a state (hereafter, NEG-state). Normally it does not occur in sentence-initial position. According to the positions in which the NEG-

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<sup>14</sup> There are also NEG-morphemes of Chinese origin such as pi, pul, mu, and mol. They are used for lexical negation with Sino-Korean words only.

morpheme an occurs, the usual two forms of negation are both possible: (a) short NEG and (b) long NEG.

39-a. Pi-ka      o-n-ta.  
Rain-SM come-PRS-DCL.  
'It rains.'

39-b. Pi-ka      an-o-n-ta. (short NEG)  
Rain-SM NEG-come-PRS-DCL.  
'It does not rain.'

39-c. Pi-ka      o-ci      an-nun-ta.<sup>15</sup> (long NEG)  
Rain-SM come-NM NEG-PRS-DCL.  
'It is not the case that it rains.'

Some structural differences are found between the two forms of negation. In the short NEG, the negative morpheme an is placed before the verb; in the long NEG, the nominalizer ci is suffixed to the verb and the negative morpheme an follows it. As noted in section 3.2, there is a difference in the degree of productivity and preference between the two NEG-forms. All discrepancies are ascribable to an intersection of functional/pragmatic uses with lexical vs. syntactic negation.

#### 3.4.2 NEG-morpheme *mot*

The syntactic behavior of mot is similar to that of the general NEG-morpheme an in that both short and long forms of negation are possible with mot. In general, mot is used to negate predicates of action, but not predicates of state, because of its intrinsic meaning 'can't' (hereafter, NEG-ability):

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<sup>15</sup> Nun in 39-c is a morphological variation of a present tense marker n in 39-a and 39-b.

40-a. Younghee-nun kkot-ul sa-ess-ta.  
 Younghee-TOP flower-OM buy-PST-DCL  
 'Younghee bought flowers.'

40-b. Younghee-nun kkot-ul mot-sa-ess-ta. (short NEG with mot)  
 Younghee-TOP flower-OM NEG-buy-PST-DCL  
 'Younghee could not buy flowers.'

41-a. Younghee-nun yeppu-ta.  
 Younghee-TOP pretty-DCL  
 'Younghee is pretty.'

41-b. \*Younghee-nun mot-yeppu-ta. (short NEG with mot)  
 Younghee-TOP NEG-pretty-DCL  
 'Younghee is not pretty.'

The predicate sata 'buy' can be negated by mot, as in sentence 40-b, while the predicate yepputa 'be pretty' cannot be negated by mot as in sentence 41-b. The acceptability of 40-b vs. 41-b can be explained in terms of the predicate class: state vs. action as mentioned above. However, mot can sometimes be used to negate predicates of state, but its occurrence is more often in the long NEG than in the short NEG. For example, the predicate of state sengsilhata 'be honest' cannot take mot in the short NEG, but it can take mot in the long NEG:

42-a. \*Younghee-nun mot-sengsil-ha-ta. (short NEG with mot)  
 Younghee-TOP NEG-honesty-do-DCL  
 'Younghee is not honest.'

42-b. Younghee-nun sengsil-ha-ci mot-ha-ta. (long NEG with mot)  
 Younghee-TOP honesty-do-NM DCL NEG-do-DCL  
 'Younghee is not honest.'

The NEG-morpheme mot in the long NEG can be freely replaced by an without affecting the meaning of the NEG-sentence as in 43-b:

43-a. Younghee-nun sengsil-ha-ci mot-ha-ta. (long NEG with mot)  
 Younghee-TOP honesty-do-NM DCL NEG-do-DCL  
 'Younghee is not honest.'

43-b. Younghee-nun sengsil-ha-ci an-ta. (long NEG with an)  
 Younghee-TOP honesty-do-NM NEG-DCL  
 'Younghee is not honest.'

The meaning difference between an 'don't' and mot 'can't' is said to be neutralized in sentences 43-a and 43-b, where there is a predicate of state in the long NEG.

### 3.4.3 NEG-morpheme ma(l)

The morpheme ma(l) is used in imperative sentences in general. Furthermore, it can occur only in long NEG. It thus has a semantic interpretation of 'don't' or 'stop V-ing.'

44-a. Kongpu ha-ra.  
 study do-IMP  
 'Please study!'

44-b. Kongpu ha-ci-ma-ra. (long NEG)  
 study do-NM-NEG-IMP  
 'Don't study!'

44-c. \*Kongpu mal-ha-ra. (short NEG)  
 study NEG-do-IMP  
 'Don't study!'

Sentences 44-a, 44-b and 44-c are imperatives. Sentence 44-c is unacceptable, since the verb ha 'do' is negated by ma(l) in the short NEG-form.

### 3.4.4 Tense-Aspect-Modality and the Interpretation of NEG-morphemes *an* and *mot*

Several claims have been made about the semantic difference between the two NEG-morphemes *an* and *mot*. Park (1981) simply says that while *an* is translatable as ‘don’t,’ *mot* means ‘can’t.’ It has also been claimed that *mot* is stronger than *an* in negative force (Martin, 1992: 315).<sup>16</sup> In fact, the differences between them are not that simple or straightforward. They are interwoven with the TAM markings in Korean. Let us examine the interpretations of the aspect and modality for NEG-sentences in comparison with those of their corresponding affirmative sentences. We will consider the following sentences with special attention to their TAM interpretations.<sup>17</sup> First of all, the typical meaning differences between *an* and *mot* are found in the following sentences.

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<sup>16</sup> One of the examples for his argument can be found in an act of denial against a command:

A. Ne cib-ey ka-ra.  
 you home-to go-IMP  
 ‘Go home!’

B-1. An-ka.  
 NEG-go  
 ‘(I am) not going.’

B-2. Mot-ka.  
 NEG-go  
 ‘(I am) not going home, never, ever.’

<sup>17</sup> Only the long NEG is examined here, since it is the more productive NEG-form than the short NEG with both NEG-morphemes *an* and *mot*.

- 45-a. Younghee-nun cib-eyse kongpu-lul ha-ess-ta.  
 Younghee-TOP home-at study-OM do-PST-DCL  
 'Younghee studied at home.'
- 45-b. Younghee-nun cib-eyse kongpu-lul ha-ci an-ess-ta.  
 Younghee-TOP home-at study-OM do-NM NEG-PST-DCL  
 'Younghee did not study at home.'  
 (an = don't: NEG-action)
- 45-c. Younghee-nun cib-eyse kongpu-lul ha-ci mot-ha-ess-ta.  
 Younghee-TOP home-at study-OM do-NM NEG-do-PST-DCL  
 'Younghee could not study at home.'  
 (mot = cannot: NEG-ability)

As Park (1981) claims, the typical meanings of the NEG-morphemes an 'don't' and mot 'can't' are found in sentences 45-b and 45-c, respectively. However, in many cases, the addition of the NEG-morphemes an or mot entails several other different interpretations of aspect or modality. In the following sentences, a further comparison is made to examine the differences in the interpretations of the aspect and modality between NEG-sentences and their corresponding affirmative ones.

- 46-a. Younghee-nun cib-eyse kongpu-lul ha-n-ta.  
 Younghee-TOP home-at study-OM do-PRS-DCL  
 'Younghee studies at home.'
- 46-b. Younghee-nun cib-eyse kongpu-lul ha-ci an-nun-ta.  
 Younghee-TOP home-at study-OM do-NM NEG-PRS-DCL  
 'Younghee won't/doesn't study at home.'  
 (an = won't/don't : NEG-willingness/action)<sup>18</sup>
- 46-c. Younghee-nun cib-eyse kongpu-lul ha-ci mot-ha-n-ta.  
 Younghee-TOP home-at study-OM do-NM NEG-do-PRS-DCL  
 'Younghee cannot study at home.'  
 (mot = can't: NEG-ability)

<sup>18</sup> In sentence 46-b, an can be interpreted as either NEG-willingness or NEG-action. And its choice depends on the discourse context.

- 47-a. Younghee-nun cib-eyse kongpu-lul ha-l kes-ita.  
 Younghee-TOP home-at study-OM do-FUT CMP-DCL  
 'Younghee will study at home.' ('future' or 'willingness')
- 47-b. Younghee-nun cib-eyse kongpu-lul ha-ci-an-ul kes-ita.  
 Younghee-TOP home-at study-OM do-NM-NEG-FUT CMP-DCL  
 'Younghee will not study at home.'  
 (an = won't: NEG-willingness)
- 47-c. Younghee-nun cib-eyse kongpu-lul ha-ci-mot-ha-l kes-ita.  
 Younghee-TOP home-at study-OM do-NM-NEG-do-FUT CMP-DCL  
 'Younghee will not be able to study at home.'  
 (mot = will not be able to: NEG-ability)

Sentences 45-a, 46-a and 47-a differ from each other with respect to tense. They are past, present and future, respectively. In addition to the tense differences, 46-b and 47-b take on an additional modality interpretation of 'willingness' with the NEG-morpheme an.

The following three sets of sentences 48 - 50 are further examples for the three tenses: past, present and future, in that order.

- 48-a. Younghee-nun hakkyo-e ka-ess-ta.  
 Younghee-TOP school-to go-PST-DCL  
 'Younghee went to school.'
- 48-b. Younghee-nun hakkyo-e ka-ci an-ess-ta.  
 Younghee-TOP school-to go-NM NEG-PST-DCL  
 'Younghee did not go to school.'  
 (an = don't: NEG-action)
- 48-c. Younghee-nun hakkyo-e ka-ci mot-ha-ess-ta.  
 Younghee-TOP school-to go-NM NEG-do-PST-DCL  
 'Younghee could not go to school.'  
 (mot = can't: NEG-ability)

Just as in sentences 45-b and 45-c, the typical meanings of the NEG-morphemes an ‘don’t’ and mot ‘can’t’ are preserved in sentences 48-b and 48-c, respectively, with their ‘past’ tense. No additional interpretations of aspect or modality are possible through the addition of an or mot. On the other hand, in the ‘present’ and ‘future’ tenses, there is the possibility of some additional interpretations of aspect or modality:

- 49-a. Younghee-nun hakkyo-e ka-n-ta.  
 Younghee-TOP school-to go-PRS-DCL  
 ‘Younghee goes to school.’
- 49-b. Younghee-nun hakkyo-e ka-ci an-nun-ta.  
 Younghee-TOP school-to go-NM NEG-PRS-DCL  
 ‘Younghee doesn’t/won’t go to school.’  
 (an = don’t/won’t: NEG-action/willingness)
- 49-c. Younghee-nun hakkyo-e ka-ci mot-ha-n-ta.  
 Younghee-TOP school-to go-NM NEG-do-PRS-DCL  
 ‘It is not possible that Younghee goes to school.’  
 (mot = not possible: NEG-possibility)
- 50-a. Younghee-nun hakkyo-e ka-l kes-ita.  
 Younghee-TOP school-to go-FUT CMP-DCL  
 ‘Younghee will go to school.’
- 50-b. Younghee-nun hakkyo-e ka-ci-an-ul kes-ita.  
 Younghee-TOP school-to go-NM NEG-FUT CMP-DCL  
 ‘Younghee will not go to school.’  
 (an = won’t: NEG-willingness)
- 50-c. Younghee-nun hakkyo-e ka-ci-mot-ha-l kes-ita.  
 Younghee-TOP school-to go-NM NEG-do-FUT CMP-DCL  
 ‘It will not be possible that Younghee goes to school.’  
 (mot = not possible: NEG-possibility)

As a result of the presence of the ‘present’ and ‘future’ tenses in 49-b and 50-b, an additional modality meaning of ‘willingness’ applies to the NEG-morpheme an.



Likewise, an additional modality meaning of ‘possibility’ applies to the NEG-morpheme mot in sentences 49-c and 50-c with their ‘present’ and ‘future’ tenses. To further complicate the issue, two more new interpretations are possible. One is the interpretation of aspect ‘completeness’ that can apply to the NEG-morpheme mot with the ‘past’ tense.<sup>19</sup>

- 51-a. Younghee-nun sukce-lul ha-ess-ta.  
 Younghee-TOP homework-OM do-PST-DCL  
 ‘Younghee did her homework.’
- 51-b. Younghee-nun sukce-lul ha-ci mot-ha-ess-ta.  
 Younghee-TOP homework-OM do-NM NEG-do-PST-DCL  
 ‘Younghee didn’t complete her homework.’  
 (mot = being incomplete: NEG-completeness)

The other is the interpretation of aspect ‘epistemic status of being good/well’ that can apply to the NEG-morpheme mot in all three tenses:

- 52-a. Younghee-nun kurim-ul kuri-ess-ta.  
 Younghee-TOP picture-OM paint-PST-DCL  
 ‘Younghee painted a picture.’
- 52-b. Younghee-nun kurim-ul kuri-ci mot-ha-ess-ta.  
 Younghee-TOP picture-OM paint-NM NEG-do-PST-DCL  
 ‘Younghee did not paint a picture well.’  
 (mot=not good: NEG-epistemic status)
- 53-a. Younghee-nun kurim-ul kuri-n-ta.  
 Younghee-TOP picture-OM paint-PRS-DCL  
 ‘Younghee paints a picture.’

<sup>19</sup> There is no completeness implied when the tense is ‘present’ or ‘future.’ This seems so since the aspect of completeness is usually found in association with the ‘past’ tense. In the case of the NEG-morpheme an, however, the interpretation of ‘completeness’ is not derivable as in the case of the NEG-morpheme mot.

- 53-b. Younghee-nun kurim-ul kuri-ci mot-ha-n-ta.  
 Younghee-TOP picture-OM paint-NM NEG-do-PRS-DCL  
 'Younghee does not paint a picture well.'  
 (mot=not good: NEG-epistemic status)
- 54-a. Younghee-nun kurim-ul kuri-l kes-ita.  
 Younghee-TOP picture-OM paint-NM-NEG-do-FUT CMP-DCL  
 'Younghee will paint a picture.'
- 54-b. Younghee-nun kurim-ul kuri-ci-mot-ha-l kes-ita.  
 Younghee-TOP picture-OM paint-NM-NEG-do-FUT CMP-DCL  
 'Younghee will not paint a picture well.'  
 (mot=not good: NEG-epistemic status)

In sentences 52-b, 53-b and 54-b, the additional meaning of 'being good/well' (epistemic status) applies to the NEG-morpheme mot, regardless of tense.<sup>20</sup>

Finally, as mentioned before, there are cases where no meaning difference is found between the NEG-morphemes an and mot.

- 55-a. Younghee-nun yeppu-ta.  
 Younghee-TOP pretty-DCL  
 'Younghee is pretty.'
- 55-b. Younghee-nun yeppu-ci an-ta.  
 Younghee-TOP pretty-NM NEG-DCL  
 'Younghee is not pretty.'  
 (an = isn't: NEG-state)
- 55-c. Younghee-nun yeppu-ci mot-ha-ta.  
 Younghee-TOP pretty-NM NEG-do-DCL  
 'Younghee is not pretty.'  
 (mot = isn't: NEG-state)

<sup>20</sup> Givon (1990: 529) points out that semantic valuation often subtly shifts from the preference of potential events, to epistemic anxiety concerning events that have already occurred. However, this shift of semantic valuation is found in all three tenses in Korean.

In the above sentences 55-b and 55-c, the meaning difference between an and mot is said to be neutralized. This neutralization occurs only in predicates of state with the long NEG.<sup>21</sup>

The examples discussed in 45 - 55 show a very complex relationship between the NEG-morphemes and the co-occurring TAM elements in the interpretations of NEG-sentences in Korean. The relationship is summarized in terms of the interpretations of NEG-sentences in Table 11.

Table 11. TAM Interpretations of NEG-Morphemes an and mot

Predicate Type & NEG-Morpheme		Present						Past						Future					
Predicate Type	NEG-Morph.	N	W	A	P	C	E	N	W	A	P	C	E	N	W	A	P	C	E
State	<u>an</u>	√						√						√					
	<u>mot</u>	*√						*√						*√					
Action	<u>an</u>	√	√					√						√	√				
	<u>mot</u>			√	√		√			√		√	√			√	√		√

N = Neutral, negating action or state only

W = Willingness

A = Ability

P = Possibility

C = Completeness

E = Epistemic status---doing something 'well'

\*√ = applies to the long NEG only.

Table 11 shows that the interpretations of the aspect and modality for the NEG-morphemes an and mot basically depend largely on the tense. For example, the

<sup>21</sup> Some native speakers of Korean think that sentence 55-c is more emphatic than sentence 55-b.

typical interpretations of the aspect and modality for NEG-sentences are preserved in the ‘past’ tense with the addition of an or mot.<sup>22</sup> In general, the NEG-morpheme an applies to both action and state, but it can imply an additional modality meaning of ‘willingness’ when the predicate is in the present or future tense. On the other hand, the NEG-morpheme mot basically carries an ability interpretation, but it can also bring up an additional modality meaning of ‘possibility’ with the present or future tense.<sup>23</sup> Furthermore, it can indicate a new aspect of ‘completeness’ when the tense is past or ‘being good/well’ (epistemic status) in all tenses in its interpretation for NEG-sentences. Finally, the meaning differences between an and mot can be neutralized in predicates of state with the long NEG-form in all tenses, that is, the NEG-morpheme an is replaceable by mot without changing the meaning of the NEG sentence as in 55-b and 55-c. This holds true of the ‘past’ and ‘future’ tense as well.

With respect to the role of contexts in the interpretations of TAM elements, Co Vet and Carl Veters (1994:1) claim that a considerable part of the meanings of tense and aspect depends heavily on contextual factors.<sup>24</sup> This certainly is true of Korean.

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<sup>22</sup> This does not necessarily mean that the typical interpretations of the NEG-morphemes an and mot never show up in the ‘present’ and ‘future’ tense. It rather means that their typical interpretations show up less frequently in the ‘present’ and ‘future’ than in the ‘past’ tense.

<sup>23</sup> The modality meanings ‘willingness’ and ‘possibility’ are universal features associated with a non past tense.

<sup>24</sup> For example, the same tense form could be interpreted very differently. The English ‘Progressive’ can signal the ongoing event or the event which happens in the near future.

For example, sentences with the same NEG-morpheme an might be interpreted differently, depending on their discourse contexts:

56. Uri-ttal-un    piano-lul    an-chye-yo.    sikan-i    ep-ci-yo.  
 our-daughter piano-OM NEG-play-DCL time-SM not-being-NM-DCL  
 'My daughter doesn't/can't play the piano. There is no time for it.'
57. Uri-ttal-un    piano-lul    an-chye-yo.    caymi-ep-dey-yo.  
 our-daughter piano-OM NEG-play-DCL fun- not-being-say-DCL  
 'My daughter won't play the piano. She says that it is not fun to play the piano.'

The first sentence of 56 is the same as the first one of 57 in the short NEG with an, but their interpretations are different from each other because of what follows them. In this case, the NEG-morpheme an in the first sentence of 56, however, can be replaced by mot, without affecting its modality interpretation. In sentence 57, an cannot be replaced by mot due to change of the modality interpretation in that context. If replaced by mot, sentence 57 will be interpreted as 'She cannot play the piano,' which is not appropriate in that context. Therefore, it is safe to say that the interpretation of NEG-sentences in Korean depends as much on the TAM elements in the sentences and their discourse context as on the intrinsic meanings of the NEG-morphemes.

From the interpretations of the NEG-sentences discussed so far, the following conclusions can be drawn on the differences between the NEG-morphemes an and mot. First, an is an unmarked NEG-morpheme in that it is used to negate all predicates, regardless of predicate classes. In addition, it may negate the modality meaning of 'willingness' with an action predicate in a non-past tense. Secondly, mot is a marked NEG-morpheme in that it is basically used to negate the ability of a 'doing' verb. As a

marked NEG-morpheme, mot cannot be used to negate predicates of state except in the long NEG-form in some cases. In these cases, the intrinsic meaning of mot 'can't' is lost, and it is reduced to the same meaning 'don't' as the NEG-morpheme an. In addition, mot may negate the modality meaning of 'possibility' with an action predicate in a non-past tense. Finally, mot may negate the aspect of 'completeness' or 'epistemic status of being good/well.'

### 3.4.5 Transitivity and the NEG-morphemes *an* and *mot*

The investigation in section 3.4.4 has identified two basic functions that an and mot serve : (a) an is an unmarked NEG-morpheme, and it is used to negate predicates of either action (NEG-action) or state (NEG-state) and (b) mot is a marked NEG-morpheme, and it is basically used to negate predicates of action (NEG-ability), in particular, with 'doing' verbs. Under these two functions, the various meanings of the NEG-morphemes an and mot can be derived in terms of the Transitivity function. In this section, an effort will be made to explain how each interpretation is arrived at by assuming that the NEG-morphemes an and mot have different degrees of transitivity-raising power.

Traditionally, transitivity is defined as global property of an entire clause such that an activity is carried over or transferred from an agent to a patient. Hopper and Thompson (1980) claim that transitivity is a crucial relationship in language, having a number of universally predictable consequences in grammar, though the defining

properties of transitivity are determined by discourse.<sup>25</sup> They (1980: 253) claim that “Transitivity, then, viewed in the most conventional and traditional way possible---as a matter of carrying over or transferring an action from one participant to another---can be broken down into its component parts, each focusing on a different facet of this carrying over in a different part of the clause.” Ten parameters are identified for the notion of transitivity by Hopper and Thompson. They are shown in Table 12.

Table 12. Parameters of Transitivity

<i>Features</i>	<i>High Transitivity</i>	<i>Low Transitivity</i>
A. Participants	2 or more	1
B. Kinesis	action	non-action
C. Aspect	telic	atelic
D. Punctuality	punctual	non-punctual
E. Volitionality	volitional	non-volitional
F. Affirmation	affirmative	negative
G. Mode	realis	irrealis
H. Agency	Agent high in potency	Agent low in potency
I. Affectedness	Object totally affected	Object not affected
J. Individuation	Object highly individuated	Object not individuated

According to Hopper and Thompson, the more features a clause has from the ‘high’ column in Table 12, the more transitive it is. Taken together, these features allow clauses to be characterized as more or less transitive. For example, the following sentences are given to explain degrees of transitivity in clauses (Hopper and Thompson, 1980: 253):

<sup>25</sup> They (1980: 251) claim that “the grammatical and semantic prominence of transitivity is shown to derive from its characteristic discourse function: high transitivity is correlated with foregrounding, and low transitivity with backgrounding.”

58-a. There were no stars in the sky.

58-b. Jerry likes beer.

58-c. Jerry knocked Sam Brown.

In the above, sentence 58-c is much higher in transitivity than sentence 58-b because it displays the following high transitivity properties which sentence 58-b does not: (a) Kinesis---action, (b) Aspect---telic, (c) Punctuality---punctual, (d) Affectedness of Object---total and (e) Individuation of Object---high (referential, animate and proper). On the other hand, sentence 58-a is lower in transitivity than sentence 58-b since it has no features in the 'high' column of Table 12 except the feature *realis*, while sentence 58-b has two 'high' features: (a) two participants and (b) affirmative.

#### 3.4.5.1 Transitivity and the distribution of *an* and *mot*

It is generally accepted that clauses with predicates of action are higher in transitivity than clauses with predicates of state since they have more features of high transitivity. In the preceding section, it was found that the NEG-morpheme mot is basically used to negate action predicates and the NEG-morpheme an is basically used to negate both action and state predicates. We can thus safely conclude that the former is associated with high transitivity and the latter is neutral in terms of transitivity. In other words, as far as transitivity status is concerned, mot is marked and an is unmarked.

Crucial evidence for the preceding claim is derived from the fact that mot is closely associated with predicates of high transitivity, 'doing' verbs. Whenever mot is



used to negate a predicate in the long NEG-form, the morpheme ha ‘do’ always shows up, following mot.

59-a. Younghee-nun sengsil-ha-ci mot-ha-ta (long NEG with mot)  
 Younghee-TOP honesty-do-NM DCL NEG-do-DCL  
 ‘Younghee is not honest.’

59-b. Younghee-nun sengsil-ha-ci an-ta (long NEG with an)  
 Younghee-TOP honesty-do-NM NEG-DCL  
 ‘Younghee is not honest.’

In sentence 59-a, the morpheme ha ‘do’ shows up in the long NEG with mot, but it does not in sentence 59-b, which is a long NEG with the morpheme an. Traditionally, the addition of the morpheme ha ‘do’ in the long NEG with mot has been explained by transformational-generative linguists in terms of either a ha ‘do’ deletion from one form or a ha ‘do’ insertion to the other. However, either rule still has difficulty explaining why the ha ‘do’ shows up only in the long NEG with mot, but not with an. Now, the functional characterization that mot is basically used to negate predicates of high transitivity with ‘doing’ verbs provides a reasonable explanation. The addition of ha ‘do’ follows naturally from the incompatibility of mot with low-transitivity predicates. The examples given below examine the distribution and interpretation of the NEG-morphemes an and mot in terms of transitivity.

As an unmarked NEG-morpheme, an is used to negate all types of predicates.

It can negate predicates of either action or state:

60-a. Younghee-nun tol-lo chang-ul kkay-ess-ta. (predicate of action)  
 Younghee-TOP stone-with window-OM break-PST-DCL  
 ‘Younghee broke the window with a stone.’

60-b. Younghee-nun tol-lo chang-ul kkay-ci an-ess-ta.  
 Younghee-TOP stone-with window-OM break-NM NEG-PST-DCL  
 'Younghee did not break a/the window with a stone.'

61-a. Younghee-nun cikum pigon-ha-ta. (predicate of state)  
 Younghee-TOP now tiredness-do-DCL  
 'Younghee is exhausted now.'

61-b. Younghee-nun cikum pigon-ha-ci an-ta.  
 Younghee-TOP now tiredness-do-NM NEG-DCL  
 'Younghee is not exhausted now.'

As shown above, the NEG-morpheme an can negate the predicate of a clause with high transitivity (i.e. action predicates) as in 60-b or the predicate of a clause with low transitivity (i.e. state predicates) as in 61-b. However, the NEG-morpheme mot is very restricted in its usage: it is basically used to negate predicates of a clause with high transitivity (i.e. action predicates), but not to negate predicates of a clause with low transitivity (i.e. state predicates).

62-a. Younghee-nun tol-lo chang-ul kkay-ess-ta. (predicate of action)  
 Younghee-TOP stone-with window-OM break-PST-DCL  
 'Younghee broke the window with a stone.'

62-b. Younghee-nun tol-lo chang-ul kkay-ci mot-ha-ess-ta.  
 Younghee-TOP stone-with window-OM break-NM NEG-do-PST-DCL  
 'Younghee could not break a/the window with a stone.'

63-a. Younghee-nun cikum pigon-ha-ta. (predicate of state)  
 Younghee-TOP now tiredness-do-DCL  
 'Younghee is exhausted now.'

63-b. \*Younghee-nun cikum pigon-ha-ci mot-ha-ta.  
 Younghee-TOP now tiredness-do-NM NEG-DCL  
 'Younghee cannot be exhausted now.'

Sentence 62-b is acceptable since the predicate negated by mot is high in transitivity.

On the other hand, sentence 63-b is unacceptable since the predicate negated by mot is low in transitivity: pigonhata ‘be exhausted’ expresses a state.

The following examples provide a more subtle distinction between high and low transitivity predicates.

64-a. Na-nun Younghee-ka co-ta. (predicates of state)  
 I-TOP Younghee-SM good-DCL  
 ‘As for me, Younghee is good.’--- ‘I like Younghee.’

64-b. Na-nun Younghee-ka co-ci an-ta. (NEG-form with an)  
 I-TOP Younghee-SM good-NM NEG-DCL  
 ‘As for me, Younghee is not good.’--- ‘I do not like Younghee.’

64-c. \*Na-nun Younghee-ka co-ci mot-ha-ta. (NEG-form with mot)  
 I-TOP Younghee-SM good-NM NEG-do-DCL  
 ‘As for me, Younghee is not good.’--- ‘I do not like Younghee.’

As expected, sentence 64-c is unacceptable since the predicate cota ‘be good’ is low in transitivity and cannot be negated by mot. However, there is another way of saying ‘I like Younghee,’ as in 65-a below:

65-a. Na-ka Younghee-lul coaha-n-ta.  
 I-SM Younghee-OM like-PRS-DCL  
 ‘I like Younghee.’

The predicate coahata ‘like’ in sentence 65-a is another predicate of state. Sentence 65-a basically has the same meaning as sentence 64-a except that it is felt by native speakers to be more dynamic and intense. There seems to involve some activity and willingness in the predicate of coahata ‘like,’ but not in cota ‘be good.’ The native intuition is easily explainable by a difference in transitivity. There are two participants

in sentence 65-a, whereas there is only one in sentence 64-a. Just by counting the number of NPs in the sentence, it seems that there are two participants in sentence 64-a as well. However, the fact that na 'I' must be followed by the topic marker nun is a clear indication that it is not a direct participant in the sentence 64-a. The topic marker nun in sentence 64-a cannot be replaced by the subject marker ka. If it is, sentence 64-a is unacceptable. This explains why there is only one participant in the predicate cota 'be good' in 64-a. On the other hand, the subject marker ka in sentence 65-a can be replaced by nun. Hence, the translation of sentence 64-a is 'As for me, you are good.' With two participants, sentence 65-a is higher in transitivity than sentence 64-a and that's why native speakers feel there is more dynamism---activity and willingness---involved in it. Syntactic restrictions provide additional support for our argument that sentence 65-a is higher in transitivity than sentence 64-a. Let's look at imperative and manner adverb constructions.

66-a. \*Younghee-ka co-ara. (Imperatives)  
 Younghee-SM good-IMP  
 'Be good, Younghee.'

66-b. \*(Na-nun) Younghee-ka cen-sim-uro co-ta. (With manner adverbs)  
 I-TOP Younghee-SM whole-heart-with good-DCL  
 '(As for me), Younghee is good whole-heartedly.'

Sentences 66-a and 66-b show that the predicate cota 'be good' cannot occur in imperatives and cannot be modified by a manner adverb. On the other hand, the predicate coahanta 'like' can both occur in the imperative and be modified by a manner adverb:

- 67-a. Younghee-lul coaha-ra. (Imperatives)  
 Younghee-OM like-IMP  
 'Like Younghee--- Love Younghee.'

- 67-b. Na-nun Younghee-lul cen-sim-uro coahan-ta. (With manner adverbs)  
 I-TOP Younghee-OM whole-heart-with like-DCL  
 'As for me, I like Younghee whole-heartedly.'

These facts fit into the general pattern that only predicates with a potential agent can occur in imperatives and be modified by a manner adverb, whereas predicates without a potential agent cannot. Agency is a parameter for transitivity. Thus, sentences 66 and 67 additionally show that the predicate of coahata 'like' is higher in transitivity than the predicate of cota 'be good.' If we are correct, this shall entail that mot can negate the predicate coahata 'like.' Indeed, it can. Sentence 68 below is a NEG-sentence with mot, the negative version of sentence 65-a:

68. Na-nun Younghee-lul coaha-ci mot-ha-n-ta.  
 I-TOP Younghee-OM like-NM NEG-do-PRS-DCL  
 'I cannot like Younghee.'

Sentence 68 shows that the NEG-morpheme mot can be used to negate predicates of state, when a high degree of transitivity is realized in clauses with those predicates.

Now, consider the following examples as further evidence for the claim that mot is associated with high transitivity.

- 69-a. Ku-namu-nun sib-mite cengto ku-n-ta.  
 the-tree-TOP 10 meter about grow-PRS-DCL  
 'The tree grows about 10 meters.'
- 69-b. \*Ku-namu-nun sib-mite cengto ku-ci mot-ha-n-ta.  
 the-tree-TOP 10 meter about grow-NM NEG-do-PRS-DCL  
 'The tree cannot grow about 10 meters.'

The predicate kuta, though usually translated as ‘grow,’ just indicates the resultant height or size of growing rather than the process of growing itself. As such, the predicate containing it has to be treated as stative. Truly enough, the negative sentence 69-b is unacceptable as the predicate is low in transitivity (i.e. state predicate) and cannot be negated by the NEG-morpheme mot. There is, however, a way to highlight the process as well as the result of growing. It is done by inserting kkaci ‘up to’ after the resultant height:

70-a. Ku-namu-nun sib-mite-kkaci ku-n-ta.  
 the-tree-TOP 10 meter-till grow-PRS-DCL  
 ‘The tree grows/has grown up to 10 meters.’

With sib-mite-kkaci ‘up to ten meters’ instead of a plain height sib-mite ‘ten meters,’ sentence 70-a becomes more dynamic because the process of growing is mentioned as well. As a result, sentence 70-a is higher in transitivity than sentence 69-a. If our previous hypothesis is right, sentence 70-a, though with the same predicate kuta ‘grow’ as in sentence 69-a, should now be able to be negated by mot. Indeed, the negative version of 70-a is 70-b below with mot in the long NEG.

70-b. Ku-namu-nun sib-mite-kkaci ku-ci mot-ha-n-ta.  
 the-tree-TOP 10 meter-up to grow-NM NEG-do-PRS-DCL  
 ‘The tree cannot grow up to 10 meters.’

The examples discussed in sentences 59 - 70 show a clear distinction between the two NEG-morphemes: (a) the NEG-morpheme an, being unmarked, can be used to negate predicates of either high or low in transitivity and (b) the NEG-morpheme mot is specialized to negate the predicate of a clause with high transitivity (action

predicates), and furthermore, mot can be used to negate state predicates when high transitive elements are present in their clauses, such as in sentences 68 and 70-b. Those examples strongly suggest that transitivity plays an important role in explaining the distribution of the NEG-morphemes an and mot.

### 3.4.5.2. Transitivity and the semantic interpretation of *an* and *mot*

With the distribution of an and mot explained, we are left with the problem of why the two NEG-morphemes have different semantic interpretations. We believe that transitivity plays an equally important role in the semantic interpretations.

It has been observed that while the typical interpretation of the NEG-morpheme an is a neutral negative ‘don’t,’ that of mot is NEG-ability ‘can’t.’ But an may sometimes carry the meaning of ‘NEG-willingness’ and mot may carry an additional aspect of ‘NEG-completeness,’ ‘NEG-epistemic status of being good/well,’ and ‘NEG-possibility.’ In spite of the complexity of the picture as a whole, there is an order in it. As a matter of fact, all of the various interpretations can be regarded as derived from the degree of transitivity with which each of the NEG-morphemes is associated.

According to Hopper and Thompson’s Transitivity Hypothesis (1980: 254-5), if clause A is judged higher in transitivity than clause B in any features, a concomitant grammatical or semantic difference---elsewhere---will also show A to be higher in transitivity. Based on this hypothesis, we offer the following explanation for the differences between the NEG-morphemes an and mot. Each of them is treated as a covariant of any other transitivity feature(s) in the clause they occur.

First of all, the typical interpretation of mot, ‘NEG-ability,’ is clear. A clause of high transitivity has an agent, and an agent presumably has the ability to perform the action specified in the verb. This ability is implicit in affirmative sentences. When the high transitivity NEG-morpheme mot is added, it makes the ability of the agent explicit and it naturally negates the ability of the agent in the clause. Thus, the typical interpretation of ‘NEG-ability’ can be said to be derived directly from negating the otherwise implicit ability of an agent in a clause of high transitivity.

The interpretations of mot for ‘NEG-completeness’ and ‘NEG-epistemic status’ also result from negating otherwise implicit features associated with a clause of high transitivity. As shown in Table 12 (i.e. Parameters of Transitivity), one of the features inherent in high transitivity is the ‘total object-affectedness.’ In other words, if an object is involved in an action, whether the action is ‘successful/satisfactory’ or not is defined by whether the object is affected by the action. The higher the transitivity, the more affected an object, and the more successful/satisfactory the action is. When the high transitivity NEG-morpheme mot is added to an action clause, it negates the otherwise implicit meaning of ‘being successful/satisfactory’ to produce an explicit interpretation. Therefore, mot has the additional aspectual meaning of ‘NEG-epistemic status of being good/well.’

Note that both NEG-ability and NEG-‘good/well’ are compatible with all three tenses. This is only reasonable, since ‘ability’ and ‘successfulness’ are not framed in time.



On the other hand, the third interpretation of mot, 'NEG-completeness' of an action, is compatible with the past tense only. There is a reasonable explanation. Just as in English, the Korean past tense of an action verb also connotes a perfective aspect which implies the completion of an event or action. The non-past tenses do not have this connotation. Indeed, it is the most logical way for mot to have a 'completeness' interpretation when it is associated with a past action.

In addition, we have shown that an brings up the modality meanings of 'NEG-willingness,' and mot brings up the modality meaning of 'NEG-possibility' in the present and future tenses. Such modality meanings of an and mot naturally follow from the assumption that transitivity markedness is parallel to logical markedness. The modality meaning of 'NEG-possibility' is more highly marked than that of 'NEG-willingness,' since 'impossibility' is much stronger than 'unwillingness' in its NEG-interpretation. Therefore, it is not unreasonable that as a marked NEG-morpheme, mot brings up the highly marked meaning of 'NEG-possibility,' whereas as an unmarked NEG-morpheme, an brings up the less highly marked meaning of 'NEG-willingness.' Those modality meanings are implicit in affirmative sentences, but become explicit by the addition of NEG-morphemes of high/low transitivity. As 'willingness' and 'possibility' are universal features associated only with non-past tenses, it is reasonable for them to show up explicitly in the present and future tenses when the NEG-morphemes an and mot are present. With the past tense, the

distinction between ‘willingness’ and ‘possibility’ is neutralized: if something was not done, the question of ‘unwillingness’ vs. ‘impossibility’ is generally irrelevant.

Finally, we have shown that sometimes stative predicates may be negated by mot in the long NEG, although no high transitivity features are involved. For example, the predicate sengsilhata ‘be honest’ can be negated by mot as in 71-b below:

71-a. Younghee-nun sengsil-ha-ta. (predicate of low Transitivity)  
 Younghee-TOP honesty-do-DCL  
 ‘Younghee is honest.’

71-b. Younghee-nun sengsil-ha-ci mot-ha-ta. (long NEG with mot)  
 Younghee-TOP honesty-do-NM DCL NEG-do-DCL  
 ‘Younghee is not honest.’

This has previously been treated as a special case where the intrinsic meaning of the NEG-morpheme mot ‘can’t’ is said to be neutralized. In our treatment, we would rather say that sengsilhata ‘be honest’ is such a low-transitivity predicate that there is simply no high-transitivity feature to be interpreted with mot. Structurally, since mot has to occur with a ‘doing’ verb, the ha in the long NEG serves the purpose. In fact, mot in sentence 71-b does not really negate the state predicate sengsilhata ‘be honest,’ but rather negates the higher predicate ha ‘do.’ This seems to explain why mot can tolerate a state predicate in the long NEG-form. In this case, mot has the same meaning as the general NEG-morpheme an does and it can be replaced by an without any meaning change, as in sentence 71-c below:

71-c. Younghee-nun sengsil-ha-ci an-ta. (long NEG with an)  
 Younghee-TOP honesty-do-NM NEG-DCL  
 ‘Younghee is not honest.’

In sum, we have shown that as an unmarked NEG-morpheme, an is used to negate predicates of clauses of either high or low transitivity, but as a marked NEG-morpheme, mot is specialized to negate predicates of clauses of high transitivity only. We have also shown that the interpretation of NEG-morphemes an and mot can be explained in terms of transitivity. In particular, we have shown that since mot is specialized to negate predicates of clauses with high transitivity, it subsequently negates the features associated with high transitivity such as ‘ability,’ ‘epistemic status of being successful/satisfactory,’ ‘completeness,’ and ‘possibility.’ In short, most examples discussed so far strongly suggest that transitivity plays an important role in the explanation of the interpretation and distribution of the NEG-morphemes an and mot in Korean.

## CHAPTER 4

### THE INTERPRETATION OF NEGATION IN DISCOURSE AND INFORMATION STRUCTURE

#### 4.1 Introduction

Traditionally, the analysis of the scope of negation in Korean has been done by using isolated sentences. A categorical distinction has generally been made between the two forms of negation with regard to their scope interpretations, in particular, in the case of an affected environment:<sup>1</sup> (a) the short NEG unambiguously results in an internal reading and (b) the long NEG is ambiguous between an internal reading and an external reading (Cho: 1975). However, a close examination of the interpretations of NEG-forms in actual use shows that : (a) such a categorical distinction made between the two forms of negation is not appropriate when applied to real discourse data and thus (b) the interpretation of the scope of negation has to be resolved in discourse.<sup>2</sup>

One of the main issues in the analysis of discourse context is how information is put to use. In addition to the dichotomy of 'given' vs. 'new' in terms of information status, we propose for the information structure of Korean an additional dimension: the

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<sup>1</sup> An affected environment refers to an environment where the negative sentence has a quantifier, an adverbial phrase, and so on. It will be illustrated later in our discussion.

<sup>2</sup> The traditional analysis of the scope of negation in Korean rarely goes beyond the confines of a single sentence. Yet, in fact, an affected environment almost always involves additional sentences as context, which invariably affects the interpretations of the scope of negation.

informative value of a construction should be treated separately from its information status of 'given' vs. 'new.' The new interpretation of information structure from the additional perspective of information management offers a revealing insight into how a construction, particularly an NP, is manipulated in its informational content in discourse, regardless of its informative status.<sup>3</sup>

A closely related issue concerns the behavior of the topic in Korean, generally marked by the topic marker nun. The Korean topic, like topics in most other languages, is supposed to carry given information only. Yet, some NPs marked by nun occur in focus positions. Since focus and given information are not compatible in the same NP, these NPs marked by nun but occurring as focus would pose a serious problem. Our position is that a construction carrying given information may just as well be highly informative as one carrying new information. In this way, we can offer a solution to the problem. With this problem out of the way, the target of negation can be easily identified in terms of whether or not an NP is highly informative, even when it serves as a topic in discourse.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>3</sup> The two-tier information structure of 'source' and 'management' adopted in this analysis is proposed by Chu (1995).

<sup>4</sup> Target of negation refers to the specific element which a NEG-morpheme intends to negate in a sentence such as a subject, object, verb, prepositional phrase. and is to be distinguished from the scope of negation.

#### 4.2 Resolution of the Scope Ambiguity of NEG-Forms in Discourse

Many Korean linguists have claimed that the short NEG and the long NEG are different from each other with regard to the scope of negation (Cho, 1975; Kim, 1975; Kuno, 1980; Song, 1988). For example, Kim (1975) claims that the post-verbal negation (i.e. the long NEG) results in sentence negation, negating all constituents preceding the verb, whereas the pre-verbal negation (i.e. the short NEG) simply negates the VP. On the other hand, Cho (1975: 177) believes that there is some scope ambiguity in an affected environment. He says:

We have found that the pre-verbal negation of a sentence is invariably unambiguous, that it yields only NEG-verb reading under all circumstances. It is clear that the post-verbal negation of sentences containing the delimiter man 'only', the quantifier manhun 'many', etc., is potentially ambiguous between NEG-verb readings (narrow scope reading) and NEG-delimiter (or quantifier) readings (wider-scope reading).

The scope ambiguity of the long NEG in an affected environment is shown in the following sentences:

- 1-a. John-man Mary-lul an-ttayli-ess ta. (the short NEG)  
 John-only Mary-OM NEG-beat-PST-DCL  
 'Only John did not beat Mary.' (narrow scope)
- 1-b. John-man Mary-lul ttayli-ci an-ess-ta. (the long NEG)  
 John-only Mary-OM beat-NM NEG-PST-DCL  
 'It is not the case that only John beat Mary.' (wide scope)  
 or 'Only John did not beat Mary.' (narrow scope)

According to Cho, the preverbal negation in 1-a is unambiguous, whereas the postverbal negation in 1-b is subject to more than one interpretation. Based on the

observation, Cho (1975) claims the scope differences between the short NEG and the long NEG to be as follows:

Table 13. The Scope of Negation for NEG-forms in Korean

<i>NEG-Form</i>	<i>Neutral Environment</i>	<i>Affected Environment</i>
Short NEG	Verbal Negation	Verbal Negation
Long NEG	Sentential Negation	Verbal Negation or Sentential Negation

However, Song (1988) denies Cho's claim that preverbal negation (short NEG) is not ambiguous. He argues that both postverbal and preverbal negations are ambiguous. First, let us examine an example of preverbal negation.

- 2-a. John-man Mary-lul an-ttayli-ess-e.  
 John-only Mary-OM NEG-beat-PST-DCL  
 'Only John did not beat Mary.'

Sentence 2-a indicates an internal negation and its the scope of negation is unambiguous. However, in this case, the scope of NEG-forms is interpreted in an isolated sentence. Compare the interpretation of sentence 2-a with that of another example in 2-b below:

- 2-b. John-man Mary-lul an-ttayli-ess-e. Tom-to ttayli-ess-e.  
 John-only Mary-OM NEG-beat-PST-DCL Tom-also beat-PST-DCL  
 'Not only John beat Mary, but Tom also beat her.' (wide scope)

The first sentence in 2-b is exactly the same as 2-a, except that it is followed by another sentence. In spite of Cho's claim that the short NEG unambiguously yields an internal reading, sentence 2-b shows that it can also yield an external reading, just as Song claims. This suggests that the interpretation of a corpus without its discourse

context can be misleading, as far as the Korean negation is concerned.<sup>5</sup> Song is certainly correct in arguing that both NEG-forms are potentially ambiguous. Yet he does not provide an answer to the crucial question of how the scope of negation is determined in the ambiguous cases. Here, the scope ambiguity of NEG-forms in the affected environment is discursal in nature and has to be resolved by means of : (a) the background information/knowledge about the event or (b) discourse information from the context.

#### 4.2.1 The Role of the Background Information/Knowledge in Discourse

Givon (1984:324) notes that when a speaker transacts a NEG-declarative sentence, the general informational content of the presupposition in question is already shared between the speaker and the hearer. This means that in order for NEG-sentences to be appropriate, both the speaker and the hearer must share some common background information. If that's the case, then the interpretation of the scope of

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<sup>5</sup> In fact, Korean is more context-dependent than many Western languages. With flexible word order and case marking, it is sometimes very difficult to determine whether a Korean NP is the subject or object of a sentence. For example,

Mary John coahay.  
 Mary John like  
 (a=) 'Mary likes John.' or  
 (b=) 'John likes Mary.'

In the above, the clause structure does not provide any clue to what roles the NPs play in the sentence. Their interpretations completely depend on the discourse context.



NEG-forms must also be affected by the shared knowledge/information in discourse.

Suppose that Speaker A congratulates Speaker B on passing a driver's license test.

- 3-a. A: Chuckhahay, sihem-ey put-ess-ta-myunse.  
 congratulations! test-at pass-PST-that-heard  
 'Congratulations! I heard that you passed the test.'

- 3-b. B: Na-man put-ci an-ess-e.  
 I only pass-NM NEG-PST-DCL  
 'It is not the case that only I passed the test.'

Knowing that Speaker A is aware of the test results, Speaker B uses a long NEG to say that others also passed the test. It is an external negation and not ambiguous to Speaker A, whose knowledge of Speaker B's having passed the test rules out the internal negation interpretation. Suppose in another scenario Speaker A comforts Speaker B for not passing the driver's license test:

- 4-a. A: Antoyessta, sihem kyulkwa-lul tul-ess-e.  
 too bad test result-OM hear-PST-DCL  
 'Too bad! I heard the test result.'

- 4-b. B: Na-man put-ci an-ess-e.  
 I only pass-NM NEG-PST-DCL  
 'Only I did not pass the test.'

Sentence 4-b is exactly the same as sentence 3-b. However, the same sentence that told Speaker A that there were others who passed the test in 3-b tells Speaker A that there were no others who failed it in 4-b. Although the NEG-form in 4-b is the same as that in 3-b, Speaker A figures out that the scope of the long NEG in 4-b is internal by knowing that Speaker B didn't pass the test. Scenarios 3 and 4 precisely show that

the scope interpretation of the long NEG can be external or internal, depending on the background information/knowledge about the event.

The same also applies to the short NEG:

5-a. A: Chuckhahay, sihem-ey put-ess-ta-myunse.  
congratulations test-at pass-PST-that-heard  
'Congratulations! I heard that you passed the exam.'

5-b. B: Na-man an-put-ess-e.  
I only NEG-pass-PST-DCL  
'It is not the case that only I passed the test.'

6-a. A: An-toyessta, sihem kyulkwa-lul tul-ess-e.  
too bad test result-OM hear-PST-DCL  
'Too bad! I heard the test result.'

6-b. B: Na-man an-put-ess-e.  
I only NEG-pass-PST-DCL  
'Only I did not pass the test.'

Sentences 5-b and 6-b show that the short NEG is as ambiguous between an external reading and an internal reading as the long NEG. Its interpretation also depends on the background information/knowledge about the event. In short, examples in 3 - 6 show that whether a NEG-form is interpreted as internal or external negation depends not on the NEG-form itself, but on the background information/knowledge shared by both participants in discourse.

Sometimes, however, people do not have sufficient background information/knowledge to figure out the exact scope of NEG-forms. In this case, the scope ambiguity of NEG-forms remains if it is not resolved by information from the discourse context. This latter means is discussed in the following section.

#### 4.2.2 The Role of Discourse Information From the Context

Spivey-Knowlton *et al* (1993) emphasize the role of discourse information in the interpretation of a linguistic input. They claim that as the linguistic input is received, readers and listeners update representations that take into account information from the sentence and information from the discourse.<sup>6</sup> Discourse information also plays an important role in interpreting the scope ambiguity of Korean NEG-forms. Suppose that Speaker A asks about the driver's license test that Speaker B took:

7-a. A: Sihem etekey toy-ess-ni?  
           test how become-PST-INT  
           'How did the test go?'

7-b. B: Na-man put-ci an-ess-e. Mary-to put-ess-e.  
           I only pass-NM NEG-PST-DCL. Mary-also pass-PST-DCL  
           'It is not the case that only I passed it. Mary also did.'

7-c. B: Na-man put-ci an-ess-e. Mary-nun put-ess-e.  
           I only pass-NM NEG-PST-DCL. Mary-TOP pass-PST-DCL  
           'Only I didn't pass the test. But Mary did.'

In 7-b, Speaker B uses a long NEG to tell that others passed the test---an external negation. In 7-c, however, Speaker B uses the same long NEG to tell that everyone else passed the test---an internal negation. Although the long NEG in 7-b and 7-c is potentially ambiguous, the following sentence disambiguates it. In the case of 7-b,

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<sup>6</sup> For example, at a certain point, reduced relative clauses in English are frequently ambiguous between the start of a main clause and the start of a relative clause since the same verb form, usually verb + 'ed,' is used for both the past tense and the participial forms of most verbs. According to them, information from discourse plays an important role in resolving the ambiguity of the reduced relative clauses.

the use of the focus marker to 'also' in the second sentence indicates a parallel event, and that helps Speaker A decide the scope of the NEG. In other words, the use of focus marker to 'also' signals that someone other than Mary passed the test and THAT someone is the Speaker. On the other hand, in the case of 7-c, the use of the (contrastive) topic marker nun<sup>7</sup> in the second sentence indicates a contrast and that lets Speaker A figure out the scope of the NEG. That is, the topic marker nun says that there is a contrast between Mary who passed the test and someone who didn't and THAT someone is the Speaker. Examples 7-b and 7-c indicate that the interpretation of the long NEG depends on the information in discourse context that follows each NEG-sentence and that contains a contrast or parallelism with a certain portion of the preceding statement. This is also true of the short NEG.

In the above, we have shown that in an affected environment, both forms of negation are ambiguous between an internal reading and an external reading. The examples discussed above indicate that the scope ambiguity of NEG-forms cannot be resolved by the NEG-forms themselves, but is resolved in discourse by means of : (a) the background information/knowledge about the event or (b) the discourse information from the context.

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<sup>7</sup> The notion of contrastive topic will be discussed in detail in section 4.3.2.

### 4.3 Information Structure and the Scope of Negation

Information has usually been divided into ‘given’ and ‘new’ in the literature (Chafe: 1976). However, sometimes a linguistic item which carries given information can be used as ‘new’ in some sense in discourse. Therefore, the categorization of ‘given’ vs. ‘new’ in the analysis of information structure has been challenged by several researchers in the 1990s (Prince, 1992; Chu, 1995). Chu (1995) proposes a two-tier structure for information, claiming that information should be treated from two different perspectives: (a) source and (b) management. His proposal offers a revealing insight into a better understanding of information structure in English and Chinese. The same treatment seems to be applicable to Korean as well. In what follows, Korean is analyzed in comparison with English/Chinese from the perspective of the two-tier information structure. We will show that the topic marker nun in Korean may sometimes have the same function as the contrastive marker wa in Japanese and stress in English, in that they are all devices for marking high information content of a constituent in discourse.

Furthermore, we will show that the target of negation is the constituent which is high in informative value (i.e. information content) in discourse. The fact explains how constituents marked by nun may become the target of negation in Korean. Data from Japanese and Chinese also indicate that the target of negation is the highly informative constituent in discourse, regardless of the information status it carries.

### 4.3.1 New Interpretation of Information Structure

It has been generally accepted that information is divided into two types: 'given' and 'new.' 'Given' means that a linguistic item in question is already known to the hearer, because of prior knowledge, whereas 'new' means that a linguistic item is not known to the hearer. However, the distinction made between 'given' and 'new' with regard to a linguistic item is not as clear-cut as it may seem. For example, the following sentence shows how problematic the above definition is:

8. Your FATHER did it.<sup>8</sup>

If given information is that which can be established as known to both the speaker and the hearer, the referent your father in sentence 8 should be considered 'given.' In spite of the fact that it is clearly given information, it is nonetheless used to inform, which is usually considered a function of new information. Thus, your father in sentence 8 has often been regarded as given information used as new when there is a heavy stress on it. This description sounds suspect. To alleviate problems like this, Chafe (1976) incorporates the listener's consciousness into the definition of 'given' and 'new.' To him, given (or old) information is what the speaker assumes to be in the consciousness of the addressee at the time of the utterance, and new information is what the speaker assumes he is introducing into the addressee's consciousness by what he says. In this way, your father in 8 can be treated as new information. Chafe's effort is a reflection of the necessity for more detailed distinctions between 'given' and

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<sup>8</sup> Capitalization indicates that the word has heavy stress.

‘new.’ More recently, researchers such as Dubois (1980), Prince (1981, 1992), Guo (1992), and Chafe (1994) argued for more revisions in the definition of given and new information. Their work takes us one step further into an understanding of information structure. For example, Prince (1992) proposes a four-way distinction, in classifying information status by setting up contexts in terms of the hearer and the discourse: (a) hearer old and discourse old, (b) hearer old but discourse new, (c) hearer new and discourse new, and (d) hearer new but discourse old. Her classification of information into four categories helps explain why there is a need for some reordering of noun phrases vis-à-vis given/new. However, her proposal does not provide an answer to problems like the one brought up in example 8. In other words, it still does not give much insight into how information is used in discourse, that is, how a linguistic item can be used to inform, apart from its being categorized into ‘given’ vs. ‘new.’

Recently, Chu (1995) proposes a ‘two-tier structure of information’ to explain how a linguistic item might be used to inform in discourse. Instead of the traditional taxonomy ‘given’ vs. ‘new’, he claims that information structure has to be viewed from two different perspectives. He says (1995: 1).

Information is to be treated from two different perspectives: (a) where it comes from, designated by the label **Source** and (b) how it is used, designated by the label **Management**. While ‘source’ itself is self-explanatory, ‘management’ is defined as ‘whether or not a linguistic form is used to inform---i.e. whether or not it is informative.

A linguistic form is informative when it adds to the repertoire of information of the hearer. He claims that the problem inherent in the NP your father in sentence 8 can be

better explained from the two different perspectives suggested above. That is, the NP your father in 8 is recognized as carrying given information from the perspective of source, whereas it is high in informative value from the perspective of management, since it adds information to what is already known to the hearer (reader). The heavy stress indicates that sentence 8 does not accept the default interpretation, that is, where the assertive predicate in English adds more information than the subject does (Chu, 1995: 5).<sup>9</sup>

In sum, Chu (1995: 2) claims that “the application of the two-tier system not only circumvents the difficulty of using two contradictory terms (given and new) to describe the status and function of the same form. It also clarifies some of the controversial interpretations of the behavior of noun phrases in Mandarin Chinese.” His main point is that in an unmarked structure the subject (or topic) is low in informative value, while the predicate/comment is high in informative value. Otherwise, a structure will have to be marked, for example, by the heavy stress on your father in sentence 8.

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<sup>9</sup> Lambrecht (1994: 16) also claims that in the unmarked case, a clause-initial subject will have a topic relation and a clause-final object a focus relation to the proposition---the unmarked information structure sequence for lexical arguments is topic-focus. This claim is based on the fact that in English the pragmatically unmarked sentence-accent position is clause final. Lambrecht’s claim suggests that the unmarked information structure in English is that assertive predicates add more information than the subject does---the assertive predicate is more informative than its subject.



#### 4.3.2 Information Structure and the Topic Marker *nun*

In the preceding section, it was claimed that in English and Chinese the positions which NPs occupy are crucial to the interpretation of the informative value of an NP. The same applies to Korean as well. Let's first look at English to determine how the management of information is handled. The unmarked pattern of information structure in English is a configuration of "topic - comment" or "subject - predicate." The preverbal topic/subject is assigned a low informative value, whereas the postverbal position is assigned a high informative value (Chu, 1995: 5). This is the end-focus structure and the last NP in the sentence receives a heavy stress. When an NP in the topic/subject position is used to inform, it has to carry a heavy stress on it. If both subject and predicate are used to inform, both of them have to be placed under heavy stress. The pragmatic function of this last construction is for "event-reporting" (Lambrecht, 1995: 124). The following sentences show the three cases mentioned above:

9-a. Mary bought a DOG.

9-b. MARY bought a dog.

9-c. MARY bought a DOG.

Sentence 9-a has an unmarked structure for information with a clause-final stress. It is an appropriate answer to the question "What did Mary buy?" It is uttered to increase the addressee's knowledge about Mary as a previously established entity. According to Lambrecht, the topic of a sentence is the thing or person which the proposition expressed by the sentence is about (1994: 118). The NP Mary in 9-a is

properly “what the sentence is about,” hence it represents the topic of the sentence. As a topic, the NP Mary in 9-a is low in informative value. On the other hand, sentence 9-b has a marked structure for information with a clause-initial stress. It is an appropriate answer to the question “Who bought a dog?” It is not construed as a statement about the subject Mary. Therefore, the subject in 9-b is not a topic but a particular type of focus expression. Accordingly, it is high in informative value. Sentence 9-c also has a marked information structure with both clause-initial and clause-final stress. Sentence 9-c is an appropriate answer to the question “What happened?” It is uttered to inform the addressee of an event, and the focus covers the entire proposition. Therefore, the subject is as informative as the predicate. In short, sentences 9-a - 9-c show that stress is one of the devices indicating high informativeness of an NP in English.

Korean doesn't seem to be so straightforward in its management of information. To compare the information management of Korean with that of English, the Korean sentences corresponding to 9-a, 9-b and 9-c are given in 10-a, 10-b, and 10-c, respectively:

10-a. Mary-nun kay-lul sassta.  
 Mary-TOP dog-OM bought  
 ‘Mary bought a dog---As for Mary, she bought a dog.’

10-b. MARY-ka kay-lul sassta.  
 Mary-SM dog-OM bought  
 ‘Mary bought a dog---It is Mary who bought a dog.’

10-c. Mary-ka kay-lul sassta.  
 Mary-SM dog-OM bought  
 ‘Mary bought a dog.’

Just like their English counterparts, the Korean sentences in 10 serve different functions. Sentence 10-a is an appropriate answer to the question “What did Mary buy?” Sentence 10-b is an appropriate answer to the question “Who bought a dog?” And sentence 10-c is an appropriate answer to the question “What happened?” As 10-a is a statement about the subject referent “Mary,” the subject NP Mary serves as the topic and is marked by the topic marker nun for its low informativeness. As 10-b is a statement to identify the subject “Mary,” the subject NP is most highly informative and is marked by the subject marker ka.<sup>10</sup> At the same time, a heavy stress falls on it. The object, though overtly marked by the object marker (l)ul here, is not stressed and can be realized as zero without affecting the meaning or expressiveness of the sentence. Finally, 10-c is an event-reporting sentence. As such, both the subject and the object NPs are highly informative and are thus marked by the subject marker ka and the object marker ul, respectively.

Sentences 10-a - 10-c clearly show how information is managed in Korean. A subject marked by nun is low in informative value, whereas a subject marked by ka is high in informative value<sup>11</sup> and an object marked by (l)ul may or may not be high in informative value. The low informative value of a topic is further supported by the fact that a topic in Korean is often realized by zero:

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<sup>10</sup> There is another subject marker, i in Korean, which is a morphological variation of ka.

<sup>11</sup> The subject marker ka/i has been considered a focus marker in Korean literature. Sentence 10-b shows why it is so considered.

11. Younghee(i)-nun ku-chayk-ul sa-ess-ciman, e(i) acik ik-ci an-ess-e.  
 Younghee-TOP the-book-OM buy-PST-but yet read-NM NEG-PST-DCL  
 'Younghee bought the book, but (she) didn't read it.'

Sentence 11 shows that the topic/subject 'Younghee' is realized as zero in the second clause.<sup>12</sup>

However, not all topics are low in informative value in Korean. Some topics are recognized as highly informative.

- 12-a. Mary-nun suhak sihem-ul put-ess-ta.  
 Mary-TOP math exam-OM pass-PST-DCL  
 'Mary passed the math exam---As for Mary, she passed the math exam.'
- 12-b. Mary-ka suhak sihem-un put-ess-ta.  
 Mary-SM math exam-TOP pass-PST-DCL  
 'Mary passed the math exam---the math exam, Mary passed (compared to other exams she did not pass).'

Sentence 12-a certainly has an unmarked information structure where the subject marked by nun is low in informative value. Yet, in sentence 12-b where the object

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<sup>12</sup> The same is true for English. Lambrecht points out that it is possible to omit the subject/topic NP in the following sentence, but not the subject in focus in discourse (1994: 136):

A. Subject NP in focus

Q: Who married Rosa?

A: a. JOHN married her, but he didn't really LOVE her.

b. ??JOHN married her but didn't really LOVE her.

B. Object NP in focus

Q: What ever happened to John?

A: a. John married ROSA, but he didn't really LOVE her.

b. John married ROSA but didn't really LOVE her.

suhak sihem 'math exam' is marked as a topic, both the subject Mary and object are highly informative. Recall that we reached the conclusion that only subjects are low in informative value when they are marked by the topic marker nun. Suhak sihem in 12-b, though marked by (n)un as a topic, is not a subject and therefore can be highly informative. This agrees with Kim's claim (1967) that the nun-attached NPs in non-topic position (i.e. non-subject positions) always imply a contrast.<sup>13</sup> In fact, an informative topic is by no means unusual, and there are similar cases in other languages. For example, Chu points out that sometimes Chinese topics are also recognized as highly informative (1995: 10):

13-a. Quian wo meiyou. Ming dao you yitan.  
 money I not-have. life rather have one-M  
 'Money, I don't have any; life, I do have one.'

13-b. Ta bi wo gao.  
 he compare-to I tall  
 'He is taller than I.'

13-c. Ta shuo de Yingwen bi wo ((shuo de) Yingwen).  
 he speak DE English compare-to I (speak DE) English  
 'He speaks better English than I do (Literally, 'the English he speaks is better than the English I speak.'

<sup>13</sup> Choi (1986) examines the distribution of the four possible combinations of particle nun and ka on NP1 and NP2 through text analysis. The results are shown in the following Table:

Distributions of the particle nun and ka on NP1 and NP2

<i>Korean Sentence Pattern</i>	<i>Cases</i>	<i>%</i>
NP1-nun NP2-ka + predicate	66	89
NP1-nun NP2-nun + predicate	5	7
NP1-ka NP2-ka + predicate	2	3
NP1-ka NP2-nun + predicate	1	1

This shows that the topic/subject marked by nun is the overwhelming majority in Korean.

The NPs underlined in sentences 13-a - 13-c are topics, but they are highly informative because there is an explicit contrast. They express those contrasts. Similar examples can also be found in Japanese. In the following conversation, roommates Hanako and Mary are discussing household chores (Lambrecht, 1994: 292-3):

- 14-a H: Mary-san, anata-wa osoji shite kudasai, watashi-wa oryori shimasu kara.  
 Mary-VOC you-TOP cleaning do please I-TOP cooking do CONJ  
 'Mary, you do the cleaning, I'll do the cooking.'
- 14-b. M: Ie, oryori-wa watashi-ga shimasu kara.  
 no cooking-TOP I-NOM do CONJ  
 'No, the COOKING, I'll do.'

In 14-b, the NP oryori 'cooking' is a topic and marked by wa but expresses a contrast with what Mary is requested to do. It is a contrastive topic and highly informative. Topics such as those in 12 - 14 are not just the usual ones that are used for discourse continuity. They are mainly for contrast and are high in informative value. They are in some sense "marked" topics *vis-à-vis* "unmarked" ones that are for discourse continuity only.

The primary function of a marked topic is to indicate that the topic itself is high in informative value. All the examples above strongly support the view that the informative value of a linguistic item does not depend on whether it carries given or new information but rather depends on how the linguistic item in question is used to inform. Further Korean examples are given below. In them the non-subject topic NPs marked by nun are shown to be high in informative value.

- 15-a. Mary-ka Seoul-ey-nun ka-ess-ta.  
 Mary-SM Seoul-at-TOP go-PST-DCL  
 'Mary went to Seoul---It is to Seoul that she went (even though she didn't go anywhere else).'
- 15-b. Mary-ka kong cha-ki-nun coahanta.  
 Mary-SM ball kick-NM-TOP like.  
 'Mary likes kicking a ball---It is to kick a ball that Mary likes (even though she does not like 'doing other things' with the ball such as bouncing, throwing).'

The non-subject NPs marked by nun in 15-a and 15-b are topics, to be sure, but they are at the same time the most informative item in each of the sentences. These constructions are certainly special cases where non-subject NPs are realized as topics not necessarily for discourse continuity but definitely for high informative value. So far we have seen that the Korean topic marker nun can serve two purposes. One is to mark the subject as a topic with low informative value as in 10-a, the other to mark non-subjects as carrying high informative value as in 15-a and 15-b. The former case involves an "unmarked" topic; the latter, a "marked" one.

But, the problem is not that straightforward. There are cases where an unmarked topic may become highly informative. This is done by the use of heavy stress on the subject:

16. MARY-nun kay-lul coahanta.  
 Mary-TOP dog-OM like  
 'Mary likes dogs---As for Mary, she likes dogs (even though somebody else does not like dogs).'

The heavy stress may work by itself or in conjunction with a contrastive context.<sup>14</sup>

In the above, we have shown that: (a) the unmarked information structure in Korean is a configuration of “topic + comment” or “subject + predicate” where a topic/subject is suffixed with nun, and (b) the informative value of a linguistic item can be determined by the various positions of nun. The following is a summary of what has been discussed with regard to the pattern of information structure and informative value in Korean:

1. The unmarked information structure is “topic + comment” or “subject + predicate” with a subject/topic suffixed with nun.
2. Non-subject NPs marked with nun are always high in informative value.
3. However, a subject/topic NP marked with nun is low in informative value since a subject/topic is ‘given’ and ‘presupposed’ in discourse.
4. A subject/topic marked with nun can be highly informative, only if heavy stress falls on the subject/topic or a contrast is present in the context.

The statements above strongly suggest that the particle nun plays an important role in interpreting whether or not a linguistic item is high in informative value. In fact, the particle nun in non-subject positions in Korean has the same discourse function as stress in English in that both indicate high informativeness of an NP or even of a verb.

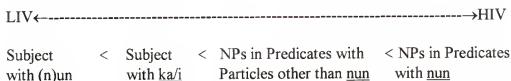
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<sup>14</sup> Sometimes stress is not a necessary condition for the contrastive topic in the subject position when a contrast is expressed by syntactic means. For example, juxtaposition of a set of statements is another means for contrast:

Mary-nun kay-lul coaha-ko, Tom-un koyangi-lul coahanta.  
 Mary-TOP dogs-OM like-and Tom-TOP cats-OM like  
 ‘Mary likes dogs, but Tom likes cats.’



On the basis of the observations made so far, the tentative informativeness hierarchy of Korean NPs can be proposed as follows (HIV = High Informative Value; LIV = Low Informative Value):



The above hierarchy shows that the informative value of a Korean NP depends not only on whether or not it occurs with nun, but it also depends on whether or not it is a subject. A subject/topic suffixed with nun, an example of an unmarked topic, is the lowest in informative value. By contrast, non-subject NPs marked by nun, an example of a marked topic, are the highest in informative value. Other NPs fall somewhere in-between.

As negation has always been linked to information structure, we suspect that the management of information may very well have some impact on the identification of exactly what is being negated in a proposition. The relationship between the target of negation and information management is thus the theme of the next section.

#### 4.3.3 Information Management and Target of Negation

In section 4.2, we showed that despite the categorical distinction between the two forms of negation, the interpretation of the scope of a Korean NEG-form in an affected environment has to be resolved by discourse context. Sometimes, the scope of negation may be very specific and narrow---even to such an extent that it is

concentrated on a single constituent of a sentence.<sup>15</sup> This narrowed-down scope, often called “target of negation,” has attracted some attention but has not received a satisfactory treatment. In this section, we propose to treat it from the view point of information management since negation interacts with presupposition, topic and information structure.

There have been several conflicting claims with regard to the identification of this narrowed scope of negation in the literature (Ross, 1978; McGloin, 1986), and all of them have some problems. McGloin (1986) deals with one of them under the label of “target of negation.” She says that the “target of negation” is the constituent which represents the newest information. Yet, she doesn’t try to specify how to identify it. The following examples are provided to support her claim (McGloin, 1986: 29):

17-a. I didn’t go there.

(=It is not I who went there---somebody went there.)

17-b. I didn’t study English in the library.

(=It is not English which I studied in the library---I studied something there.)

17-c. Mary didn’t do her homework carefully.

(=It was not carefully that Mary did her homework.)

The underlined constituents bear the primary stress of the sentence. Sentences 17-a - 17-c show that when stress falls on a constituent, the constituent becomes the target of negation. According to McGloin, a stressed constituent carries new information in

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<sup>15</sup> Givón (1984: 339) mentions that “negation may be either neutral---a denial of the state/event without specifying the grounds---or more specific and narrow in its scope, denying only specific aspects (verb, subject, object, etc.) of the event and thus tacitly allowing that some event of that kind did indeed take place.”

English, therefore it becomes the target of negation. For sentence 17-c, she (1986: 30) explains that “adverbs always introduce more marked or newer information. There is no communicative reason to state the manner or the positive degree of a certain event or situation if the event has not happened or if the situation does not exist”. This certainly argues for adverbs to be interpreted as new information, thus becoming the target of negation in a NEG-sentence. The same is true for Japanese (McGloin, 1986: 30):

18. Watashi wa ji ga joozu ni kak-e-na-i.  
 I letters well write-can-NEG-PRS.  
 ‘I can’t write letters well. (My handwriting is very poor)’
19. Byooki wa kanzen ni naor-ana-kat-ta.  
 illness completely recover-NEG-PST  
 ‘I didn’t get well completely.’

Sentences 18 and 19 also show that the target of negation in Japanese is the adverb, just as it is in English. However, as pointed out in the previous section, the distinction between new and given is not always clear. For example, it is not unproblematic to claim that the subject ‘I’ in 17-a is new information, since new information is generally taken to be that which cannot be ascertained from prior knowledge or preceding discourse. Recall that we treated information as having two tiers: source and management. In the examples 18 and 19, what is involved is obviously not where the information comes from, but rather how it is managed---treated as highly informative or not. Thus, the crucial point is not that the subject I in 17-a carries new information. It is rather that it is meant to be informative. In fact, if we leave out the

NEG-element, each of the underlined constituents in 17-a and 17-b would carry a focus. A focus is always highly informative, since it adds information to what is already known to the hearer (reader). Therefore, it is reasonable to claim that the so-called target of negation is actually a narrowed scope of negation. It can be identified, not by presence of new information, but by a highly informative constituent. In extreme cases like 17-a and 17-b, the target of negation is the focus.

Another important piece of evidence supports our view. It is well known that presupposed/given information does not fall under the scope of negation since it is not open to challenge. Therefore, a topic is usually not under the scope of negation since it is generally presupposed and given. Yet, very often a topic can be open to challenge and negated. This case is similar to the one in 17-a. For example,

20. Quian wo meiyou. Ming dao you yitan. (Chu, 1995: 10)  
 money I not-have. life rather have one-M  
 'Money, I don't have any; life, I do have one.'

21. Younghee-ka kongpu-nun cal mot-hay.  
 Younghee-SM studying-TOP well NEG-do  
 'Younghee is not good at studying---It is studying that she is not good at.'

The underlined portions of sentences 20 and 21 are topics, but they are negated. The reasons they can be negated are: (a) They are contrastive topics and are highly informative, and (b) What is being negated is not the given information they carry, but the informativeness they are assigned. Thus, they can also be considered targets of negation. The same is true for Japanese (McGloin, 1986: 39):

- 22-a. Kusuri o nom-ana-kat-ta.  
 medicine drink-NEG-PST.  
 'He did NOT drink medicine.' (it does not imply that he drank something else.)

22-b. kusuri wa nom-ana-kat-ta.  
 medicine drink-NEG-PST.  
 'He did not drink MEDICINE.'  
 (it implies that he drank something else.)

The object in 22-a is marked by the regular object marker o, while the object in 22-b is marked by the (contrastive) topic marker wa. Unlike the object in 22-a, the object in 22-b is the target of negation.<sup>16</sup>

Sentences 20 - 22 show that the kind of information a topic carries is not relevant to the identification of the concentrated scope of negation. What is relevant is rather whether the topic is contrastive, that is, whether it is used to inform. In short, all the examples discussed above strongly suggest that the critical determinant of whether a constituent is within the concentrated scope of negation is its degree of informativeness rather than its information status (given vs. new) in discourse. In other words, the scope of negation can be narrowed down to a single constituent. This concentrated scope of negation, however, does not depend on the kind of information that the constituent carries. It rather depends on how the information is managed. As it has to be highly informative, it would be the focus in a corresponding affirmative sentence. This concentrated scope of negation can be more conveniently called "target of negation," as McGloin does. In theory, it can be any constituent in a clause---the subject, object, verb, or prepositional phrase.

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<sup>16</sup> McGloin (1986: 39) says that "the most natural reading of a sentence such as 22-a is the non-implicational negation---i.e., it is a flat denial of the proposition that the speaker took the medicine."

In what follows, we will make an attempt to identify the target of negation in Korean from this perspective. Parallel cases are provided from English and Japanese.

In English, there are two ways to mark a constituent as highly informative. One is by the use of stress. The other is by the use of cleft-focusing. Therefore, when negation is involved, the target of negation is identified by a constituent high in informative value. (Bold face indicates the primary stress of the sentence in the following examples.)

23-a. John didn't kick the ball. [neutral]

23-b. **John** didn't kick the ball. [SUBJ-negation]

23-c. John didn't kick the **ball**. [OBJ-negation]

23-d. John didn't **kick** the ball. [V-negation]

24-a. It was not John who kicked the ball. [but someone else]

24-b. It was not the ball that John kicked. [but something else]

24-c. It was not kicking that John did to the ball. [but something else]

Sentences 23 and 24 show that the highly informative constituent marked by the use of either stress or cleft-focusing coincides with the target of negation.

Japanese has the contrastive particle wa.<sup>17</sup> As discussed in McGloin (1986), the contrastive wa plays a very crucial role in the identification of the target of

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<sup>17</sup> Kuno (1973: 38) claims that Japanese wa has two uses: (a) for the theme of a sentence and (b) for contrast. These two cases are given below:

a. John-wa gakusei desu. (theme)

John student is

'Speaking of John, he is a student.'

b. Ame-wa hutte imasu-ga. (contrast)

rain falling is-but

'It is raining, but---.'

negation. This is because wa is associated with high informativeness. Consider the following examples from Japanese (McGloin, 1986: 53).

- 25-a. [Gakusei ga minna ki] wa shi-na-kat-ta.  
 student all come do-NEG-PST  
 ‘Not all the students came.’  
 (It is not the case that all the students came.)
- 25-b. Gakusei wa minna ki wa shi-na-kat-ta.  
 student all come do-NEG-PST  
 (i) Gakusei wa [minna ki] wa shi-na-kat-ta.  
 Not all the students came.’  
 (ii) Gakusei wa minna [ki] wa shi-na-kat-ta.  
 ‘All the students did something other than coming.’

In Japanese, the interpretation of negation depends on the scope which the contrastive marker wa covers. In sentence 25-a, the contrastive scope of wa extends over the whole underlined clause, making it informative. Therefore, it becomes the target of negation. On the other hand, in sentence 25-b, the contrastive scope of wa can be either minna ki ‘all come’ or ki ‘come’ and therefore either of them can be interpreted as the target of negation.

Korean also has a way of narrowing down the scope of negation. As discussed in the previous section, the topic marker nun in Korean has the function to highlight the informative value of a constituent, just as the contrastive marker wa in Japanese and the contrastive stress in English do. Yang (1973: 83) notes that one of the semantic functions of nun is to enrich the constituent to which the particle nun is postpositioned in terms of presupposition and implication. While his statement is hard to interpret, his intention may very well be that nun is a device for a contrastive focus. If so, then it is

exactly what our perspective would yield. As such, constituents marked by a contrastive nun can form the target of negation.

- 26-a. Younghee-nun cip-eyse kongpu-lul ha-ci an-nun-ta. (Neutral)  
 Younghee-TOP home-at studying-OM do-NM NEG-PRS-DCL  
 ‘Younghee does not study at home.’
- 26-b. Younghee-nun cip-eyse-nun kongpu-lul ha-ci an-nun-ta.  
 Younghee-TOP home-at-TOP studying-OM do-NM NEG-PRS-DCL  
 ‘Younghee studies somewhere else, but not at home.’ (LOC-negation)
- 26-c. Younghee-nun cip-eyse kongpu-nun ha-ci an-nun-ta.  
 Younghee-TOP home-at studying-TOP do-NM NEG-PRS-DCL  
 ‘Younghee does something else at home, but not studying.’ (OBJ-negation)
- 26-d. Younghee-nun kong-ul cha-ci-nun an-ess-ta. (V-negation)  
 Younghee-TOP home-at kick-NM-TOP NEG-PRS-DCL  
 ‘Younghee did something else to the ball, but not kicking.’

In the above, all constituents suffixed with nun except the subject/topic in 26-a are the target of negation due to their high informativeness in discourse and their contrastive force. On the other hand, the subject/topic in sentence 26-a is not the target of negation.<sup>18</sup> This is because the specific function the subject/topic serves in discourse--given and presupposed, but more importantly, it is also low in informative value.<sup>19</sup>

<sup>18</sup> As pointed out in section 4.3.2, the subject suffixed with nun is an example of an unmarked topic in Korean where the topic is low in informative value. On the other hand, other non-subject NPs suffixed with nun in sentences 26-b - 26-d are examples of marked topics where the topic is high in informative value.

<sup>19</sup> There is, however, a way to negate the subject-topic in 26-a. This is accomplished by the use of heavy stress on the subject/topic:

YOUNGHEE-nun cip-eyse kongpu-lul ha-ci an-nun-ta. (Neutral)  
 Younghee-TOP home-at studying-OM do-NM NEG-PRS-DCL  
 ‘As for Younghee, SHE does not study at home.’



That nun plays a crucial role in the identification of the target of negation can be illustrated with the well-known fact that if an adverb is fronted in a negative sentence, the sentence becomes awkward. In the following English sentences,

27-a. He didn't do it carefully.

27-b. ?Carefully, he didn't do it.

the marginal acceptability of sentence 27-b can be explained as follows. The adverb is normally the target of negation due to its high informativeness. When it is fronted and separated by a pause, it is moved out of the scope of the negation. Therefore, sentence 27-b sounds awkward.<sup>20</sup> Korean is subject to the same constraints:

28-a. Younghee-nun cosimsurepke ha-ci an-ess-ta.  
 Younghee-TOP carefully do-NM NEG-PST-DCL  
 'Younghee didn't do it carefully.'

28-b. ? Cosimsurepke Younghee-nun ha-ci an-ess-ta.  
 carefully Younghee-TOP do-NM NEG-PST-DCL  
 'Younghee didn't do it carefully.'

Sentence 28-b is just as inappropriate in Korean as sentence 27-b is in English with the fronted adverb. However, if the topic marker nun is attached to the fronted adverb, it

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Thus, it seems that for a subject/topic to be contrastive, both phonological and morphological devices have to be employed.

<sup>20</sup> As discussed in McGloin (1986: 100), there are a number of rules in English whose application is blocked by the presence of a negative element as well as by the presence of a factive predicate. For example, fronting a prepositional phrase is blocked if it is commanded by either a negative or a factive predicate.

- a. Near him, John saw a snake.
- b. \*Near him, John didn't see a snake.
- c. Near him, John thought he saw a snake.
- d. \*Near him, John regretted that he saw a snake.

becomes appropriate, as in sentence 28-c below:

28-c. Cosimsurepke-nun Younghee-nun ha-ci an-ess-ta.  
       carefully-TOP Younghee-TOP do-NM NEG-PST-DCL  
       ‘It was not carefully that Younghee did it.’

Sentence 28-c is appropriate, perhaps because negation finds its target by looking for the contrastive nun. Sentence 28-c further supports the claim made earlier that constituents suffixed with nun except in subject positions are highly informative and always become the target of negation in a negative sentence.

In this section, we have shown that there is an important relationship between the interpretation of the scope of negation and information management. The scope of negation can be narrowed down to a single constituent if this constituent is highly informative---a focus or contrast. We can thus identify the concentrated scope of negation---shortened to “target of negation”---by the degree of informativeness of a constituent in discourse.

## CHAPTER 5 SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

This study has established a functional and discourse approach in the analysis of negation in Korean under the assumption that forms of negation are determined by their functions in discourse. On the basis of the strong correlation between form and discourse function, the distribution and interpretation of NEG-forms have been examined in terms of functional and discourse notions such as the TAM markings, transitivity, focus, topic and information structure. Thus, the data used in our analysis often go beyond isolated sentences. Surveys were conducted to confirm our hypotheses.

This study starts with a discussion of the discourse functions of the two forms of negation---the short and long form. It is shown that they do not only differ from each other semantically, but they also serve different purposes in discourse.

First of all, the distribution of NEG-forms in Korean depends not only on the types of predicates in which they occur, but also on the origin of a verb in the predicate (i.e. native Korean vs. Sino-Korean). The degree of the acceptability/grammaticality of the short NEG with Sino-Korean verbs, however, depends on how far the verbs have been nativized.

Secondly, the two forms of negation, short and long, can comfortably fit into the universal types of negation: lexical and syntactic negation, respectively. The new categorization facilitates the explanation of both their distribution in usage and their pragmatic and semantic differences.

To confirm our theoretical hypotheses in connection with the two forms of negation, surveys were conducted among native speakers. The results show that the short NEG is used more often as a negative answer to a confirmation question than to a normal question in order to strongly deny a presupposed assertion. In addition, the short NEG is the preferred NEG-form in a contrastive environment, even though the long NEG is tolerable. To explain why the short NEG is a more appropriate form in a contrastive environment, this study adopted a theory of focus. The short NEG is found to be a more effective device for contrastive focus than the long NEG. This strongly suggests that the relation between NEG-forms and the context in which they occur is not arbitrary, but systematic because of their discourse functions. The theory of focus is also more effective than the “Well-Formedness Condition” in its ability to explain the grammaticality/acceptability of the short NEG. It accounts for the appropriate use of the short NEG not only in predicates of three or more syllable stem, but also in predicates with a Sino-Korean verb.

The second main issue that this study investigates is the interpretation of NEG-sentences in discourse. It is shown that the interpretation of NEG-sentences depends not only on the different meanings of the NEG-morphemes an ‘don’t’ and mot ‘can’t,’

but also on the TAM markings and the discourse context involved. It is found that beyond the basic negative meaning, an expresses 'NEG-willingness' in non-past tenses and mot expresses 'NEG-completeness' in the past tense, 'NEG-epistemic status of being good/well' in all three tenses, and 'NEG-possibility' in non-past tenses. To see why the two NEG-morphemes are so distributed, a transitivity theory is applied. In this theory, an can be regarded as an unmarked NEG-morpheme which negates predicates of either high or low transitivity, but mot must be regarded as a marked NEG-morpheme and is specialized to negate predicates of high transitivity only. The semantic interpretations of the NEG-morphemes an and mot then follow naturally as a consequence of derivation from the degree of transitivity each NEG-morpheme is associated with in the given predicate.

The final important issue is the interpretation of the scope of negation. This study shows that the NEG-form itself does not offer any insight into an interpretation of the scope of negation in an affected environment since both NEG-forms can be ambiguous. Scope ambiguity should rather be resolved by shared background information/knowledge about the event or the discourse information from the context. To this end, this study adapts a two-tier information structure of 'source' and 'management.' The new perspective offers a revealing insight into how an NP's informative value, regardless of its information status (i.e. given vs. new), is related to the scope of negation. It also resolves the problem of identifying the so-called "target of negation." A target of negation is identifiable, not by the presence of new

information, as is claimed by previous researchers, but by a single constituent that carries high informative value. Supporting data are from in Korean as well as in Japanese and English. An added advantage of this new perspective on information structure is to clarify the functions of the topic marker nun in non-subject positions. The separation of information status and informative value makes it possible to claim that nun in those positions plays the double role of marking both the topic and focus. Thus, the NPs so marked serve as the “target” of negation, just like some cases of NPs associated with the contrastive marker wa in Japanese and the contrastive stress in English.

In short, this study has shown that the distribution and choice of NEG-forms cannot be explained in terms of purely syntactic form, but they have to be explained in terms of their functions in discourse. It has also shown that the interpretation of the scope of negation is not autonomous, but it has to be done at discourse or functional levels.<sup>1</sup> Therefore, this study strongly supports a currently growing theory in linguistics that analysis of language must come from its actual use in discourse. The strong correlation between a linguistic form and its function, however, is found to vary with their discourse contexts rather than anything rigid and inflexible.

Major contributions of this study are: (a) an analysis of the two forms of negation in terms of a new functional typology, (b) an examination of the distribution

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<sup>1</sup> Fox and Thompson (1990: 315) also claim that “Grammar is not autonomous or independent from issues of pragmatics, semantics and interaction. It includes the entire interactional dimension of the communicative situations.”

and choice of Korean NEG-forms in terms of their discourse functions, (c) an investigation of the interpretation/distribution of the NEG-morphemes an and mot in terms of a transitivity theory, (d) an interpretation of the scope of negation in discourse, (e) a new perspective of information structure and the role of the topic marker nun in the identification of the target of negation, and finally (f) an assessment of the need for an interactive study between different levels of language---syntax, semantics, and discourse.

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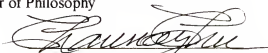
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## BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

Jinkyoun Kim was born on April 5, 1958, in Inchen, Korea. He received a Bachelor of Science degree in aeronautical engineering from the Korea Air Force Academy in 1981. Then, he received a Bachelor of Arts degree in English from Seoul National University in Korea in 1984. In the same year, he married Jungeui Yun. They have two sons, Sengyun and Kangyun. In 1986, he enrolled in the graduate program at Hankuk University of Foreign Studies, Korea, and earned a Master of Arts degree in English linguistics in 1988. Subsequently, he taught English at the Korea Air Force Academy as an assistant professor for four and a half years and concurrently served as a lecturer of English at other higher institutions of learning for two years. In the fall of 1992, he enrolled as a Ph.D. student in the program in linguistics at the University of Florida. In 1996, he was awarded a dissertation fellowship by the College of Liberal Arts and Sciences, the University of Florida. He expects to return to Korea to teach at the university level.

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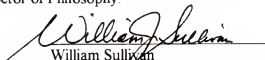
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